SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

EXCAVATIONS AT SAQQARA

(1907-1908)

BY

J. E. QUIBELL

WITH SECTIONS BY

SIR HERBERT THOMPSON, BART.

AND

PROF. W. SPIEGELBERG

LE CAIRE

IMPRIMERIE DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS

D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

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INTRODUCTION.

The excavations of this season began on September 7th 1907, at the monastery of Saint Jeremias, and it was the discovery of the church there with the great series of capitals, carved blocks and inscriptions that made the main interest of the year. But this was not the only site attacked. The monastery is not far from the Step Pyramid, and it seemed economical of time to make a trial there too, so a considerable area to the east of the pyramid was cleared and the casing of the lowest step discovered; a part of the temenos wall was also examined and found to be covered with a casing wall of fine limestone of a recessed pattern.

The temple of the Teta pyramid besides, which had been started before, had to be continued as far as time and money permitted; and finally the search for mastabas for sale to foreign museums forced us to clear, at least partially, a whole series of tombs which would otherwise have been left to a future opportunity.

The Coptic results were by so much the most important that more time was given to the monastery than to the other sites and more space is required for them in the report.

We have called it the monastery of Saint Jeremias; the attribution, due originally to M. Maspero[1], will not now be doubted; the position of the saint by the side of the Virgin in the paintings, the mention of his name first in the invocations on gravestones, and the commemoration in one room by an inscription of the fact that he used to sit there, form a cumulative and adequate proof.

This enables us to give a probable date for the foundation of the monastery, for in the history of John of Nikiou, Jeremias and Anastasius appear as contemporaries. The passage is so important for the study of this building, that it is reprinted here from Zotenberg's translation[2].

Le pieux empereur Zénon étant mort, Anastase, l'empereur chrétien qui vivait dans la crainte de Dieu, lui succéda sur le trône : c'était l'un des chambellans de l'empereur, qui, par la grâce

[1] *Ann. Serv.* (1902), III, p. 186; cf. also *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 93.

[2] Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou,* Paris, 1883, p. 368, chap. lxxxviii.

de Dieu et par l'effet des prières de nos pères égyptiens, devint empereur. En effet, l'empereur Zénon l'avait exilé dans l'île de Saint-Iraï, située dans le fleuve de Menouf. Les habitants de la ville de Menouf, par humanité, le traitaient avec bonté. Amonios, de la ville de Ḥezênâ dans la province d'Alexandrie et les habitants de cette ville, se liaient d'amitié avec lui, l'honoraient et lui témoignaient une grande affection. Or, un jour les gens de Menouf et ceux de Ḥezênâ convinrent, comme Anastase était en disgrâce auprès de l'empereur Zénon, de monter à son intention sur la hauteur au couvent du saint théophore Abba Jérémie, d'Alexandrie. En effet, sur le territoire de ces deux villes demeurait un homme qui avait été favorisé par Dieu de la connaissance de toutes choses. Ils parlaient de la sainte vie de cet homme de Dieu; ils voulaient être bénis par lui et désiraient qu'il priât pour eux le Christ, son maître. Ils se rendirent donc à la demeure d'Abba Jérémie, l'homme de Dieu, qui les bénit tous, mais n'adressa aucune parole à Anastase. Celui-ci, au moment où tous partirent, fut très affligé; il pleurait amèrement, disant en lui-même : « C'est à cause de mes nombreux péchés que l'homme de Dieu en bénissant tous m'a refusé sa bénédiction ». Les gens de Menouf et Amonios, de la ville de Ḥezênâ, retournèrent auprès du saint homme de Dieu et lui firent part du chagrin d'Anastase. Abba Jérémie l'appela, le prit à part avec ses amis fidèles et avec Amonios et lui dit : « Ne t'affliges pas, en croyant et disant : « C'est à cause de mes péchés que ce vieillard ne m'a pas béni ». Il n'en est pas ainsi; au contraire, je me suis abstenu de te bénir, parce que j'ai vu la main de Dieu sur toi. Comment oserais-je, moi qui commets tant de péchés, bénir celui qui est béni et honoré par Dieu? Dieu t'a choisi entre des milliers pour être son oint : car la main de Dieu, le Seigneur, est marquée sur la tête des rois; et il a mis sa confiance en toi pour que tu sois son lieutenant sur la terre, afin que tu protèges son peuple. Seulement, quand tu te rappelleras mes paroles et que tu auras réalisé la prophétie, exécute fidèlement le mandat que je te donne aujourd'hui, afin que Dieu te sauve de tes ennemis, à savoir : ne commets aucun péché, n'entreprends rien contre la religion chrétienne, la religion de Jésus-Christ, et n'adopte point la foi chalcédonienne, qui offense Dieu. » Or, ces recommandations qu'Abba Jérémie donna à Anastase, celui-ci les reçut et les grava sur les parois de son cœur, ainsi que Moïse le prophète reçut de Dieu les tables de l'alliance sur lesquelles étaient gravés les commandements de la loi. Quelque temps après, Anastase fut rappelé de l'exil auquel l'avait condamné l'empereur de cette terre en vertu de son pouvoir, puis il fut nommé empereur. Lorsqu'il fut sur le trône, il envoya un message aux disciples du saint abbé Jérémie et les fit venir auprès de lui. Parmi eux se trouvait Abba Vâryânôs, qui était parent d'Abba Jérémie. Or, l'empereur leur demanda avec instance d'accepter de lui des provisions pour la route et pour le monastère; mais ils refusèrent, leur père saint Jérémie leur ayant défendu d'accepter aucun objet, si ce n'est de l'encens pour célébrer la messe et pour offrir le sacrifice et quelques objets sacrés. Anastase envoya aussi des gens dans l'île dans laquelle il avait été autrefois exilé et fit construire par eux une grande et superbe église, consacrée à saint Iraï; c'était auparavant une petite église. Il y fit porter beaucoup de vases d'or et d'argent; à ses amis de Menouf et de Ḥezênâ, leur conféra des magistratures et fit entrer quelques-uns d'entre eux dans le clergé.

John of Nikiou wrote about 630 A. D. It is clear that he believed Jeremias to have

lived in the time of Anastasius. Now Anastasius reigned 491-518, so the saint must have lived in the second half of the v^th^ century, and the monastery was probably founded about 470 A. D. No evidence has been found seriously to contradict this view. Some of the paintings, it is true, seem rather better in style and to retain more freedom in drawing than one would have expected at so late a date. And it must not be forgotten that it is possible, if not very likely, that a monastery had existed before the time of Jeremias, and that he received the honours of the founder from his great services or remarkable character and that the original founder was forgotten. On the present evidence, however, we may assume that the foundation of the monastery and the earliest buildings that remain date from about 470 A. D. Some of the brick structures probably go back to this early date and so do the earliest parts of the church, the earlier apse, the marble bases, perhaps some of the limestone capitals, as those of the north aisle.

But this church was destroyed, probably not very long after the Arab conquest, and before its destruction it had suffered from mutilation of the sculptures; the figures of men and animals had been carefully chiselled out; the order probably came from the Muslim ruler, but the work was executed by Christian workmen who did as little damage to the reliefs as possible.

The church was rebuilt, at what date we cannot yet say, but before 800 A. D., and the final ruin seems to have come in the x^th^ century. But more evidence on these points was found in the subsequent digging and will be published in a future report.

The existence of a monastery of Saint Jeremias in the neighbourhood of Memphis has long been known.

The earliest mention of it is probably not very long after its foundation. It is mentioned in the itinerary of Theodosius A. D. c. 520-530 : « Item in Aegypto est civitas Memphis..... ibi sunt duo monasteria, unum est religionis Vandalorum sancti Hieremiae, Romanorum sancti Apollonii eremitae », quoted by Krall (*Corp. Pap. Rainer*, II, p. 79), who remarks on the word *Vandalorum*, « der Autor wirft die Monophysiten mit den Arianern zusammnen ».

John of Nikiou, c. 630, mentions it (*v. supra*) and Ṣafî al dîn ʿAbd al mumin († 739), says of it : دير هِرمِس يضمّ بمنف من ارض مصر وعنده هرم.

This reference I owe to Prof. Moritz.

It is mentioned again by Ibn Abdelhakem, who died A. H. 268 = A. D. 881-882, see Stern in *A. Z.*, XXIII (1885), p. 148; Abu Sâlih, c. A. D. 1200 (f° 68 *a*, ed. Evetts) seems only to copy Ibn Abdelhakem. Probably the ruins were already buried.

Interest in it was revived in 1873, when Revillout read a paper on certain documents in the Louvre at the Oriental Congress at Paris in that year (*Actes du Congrès internat. orient.*, 1873, II, p. 471 et seq.; III, p. 55 et seq.), which are mostly requests made by monks to the head of the monastery to grant passports supported by guarantees to certain persons named. He published them in full in his *Papyrus coptes, Actes et Contrats*, 1876.

To those published by Revillout, Krall added in 1885 four more documents (at Berlin) relating to the monastery, two of them being passports (*Rec. tr.*, VI, p. 63 et seq.). Silvestre de Sacy (*Journ. des Savants*, 1825, p. 463) had long ago published two Arabic passports written on papyrus (see Stern, *A. Z.*, u. s., p. 147). All the Coptic documents belong evidently to one and the same period and are dated by Stern about the first half of the VIII^th^ century (u. s., p. 155).

A letter probably written by an inmate of the monastery has been published by Maspero in *Ann. Serv.*, III, p. 185. He dates it in the VI^th^ or VII^th^ century.

Now that there can be no doubt that the site is the monastery of Saint Jeremias, we can with confidence refer to it a number of monuments scattered in various museums, chiefly stelæ. I owe the following list to Sir H. Thompson :

MUSEUM.	NAME OF DECEASED.	PUBLICATIONS.
Cairo.....	Sarapion.....	Gayet, *M. A. F.*, III, p. 26, n° 3; Crum, *Copt. Mon.* (Cairo Cat.), n° 8324.
—	Apollo.....	Gayet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27, n° 6; Crum, *op. cit.*, n° 8547.
—	(Lost).....	Gayet, *op. cit.*, III, n° 41.
—	Macare the gardener.....	— — III, p. 30, n° 45; Crum, *op. cit.*, n° 8326.
—	Jeremias Pesoou.....	Gayet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 30, n° 49.
—	Apa Zacharias, etc.....	— — III, p. 30, n° 50; Crum, *op. cit.*, n° 8320.
—	Apa Jeremias.....	Bouriant, *Rec. tr.*, V, p. 63, n° 3; Crum, *op. cit.*, n° 8319.

MUSEUM.	NAME OF DECEASED.	PUBLICATIONS.
Cairo	Phœbammon	Biondi, *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 93, n° 23.
—	(Lost)	— — — n° 24.
—	Joseph Mena	— — — n° 25.
—	Nishteroou, the deuterarius.	— — p. 94, n° 26.
—	(Lost)	— — — n° 27.
—	—	— — — n° 28.
Alexandria. 275.	—	*Rev. l'Orient chrétien*, X, p. 252.
— 289.	ⲓⲉⲣⲙⲓⲁⲥ and ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ	— p. 251.
— 280.	ⲕⲁⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲉ	Mallon, *Gramm. copte*, p. 132.
Vatican	Elias, etc.	Stern, *A. Z.*, XVI, 1878, p. 25; Revillout, *Rev. ég.*, IV, 1885, p. 10; Marruchi, *Mus. egiz. Vat.*, 1899, p. 314.
British Museum	Phœbammon	Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts*, p. 5.
—	Abeg, etc.	— — p. 9.
—	Apa Hor, etc	— — p. 145.
Berlin	Abraham, etc.	Stern, *A. Z.*, XVI, 1878, p. 26; *Berlin Ausführl. Verz.*, p. 385 (transl. only).
Collect. Amherst.	Papa Anoup	Birch, *A. Z.*, X, 1872, p. 121; Revillout, *Rev. ég.*, IV, p. 9.
—	Al(?)	Revillout, *Rev. ég.*, IV, p. 8, n° 12.
Bologna (Greek).	George	Lefebvre, *Inscr. gr.-chrét.*, n° 662 (bibl. ibid.).
(?)	Dioscoros (?)	Winstedt, *P. S. B. A.*, XXIX, p. 322.

There is also a wooden fragment with part of the usual invocation list including Apa Jeremias (Greek) in the Musée de Périgueux (said to be from Ashmûnein), published by Clédat, *Bull. Inst. fr.*, II, p. 70, and Lefebvre, *Rec. d'inscr. gr.-chrét.*, n° 228.

Our Apa Jeremias is occasionally invoked elsewhere (e. g. Hall, u. s., p. 144); but on the other hand, the David described as the painter ⲙⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲙⲓⲁⲥ (*Bull. Inst. fr.*, V, p. 13), and the *Pshoi of Jeremias* (Strzygowski, *Catal. génér. du Musée du Caire, Kopt. Kunst*, p. 120), both at Bawît, refer more likely to a monastery of Apa Jeremias situated a little south of Antinoe (*Corp. Pap. Rain.*, II, n° LXXXVI) and therefore nearly opposite Bawît.

I have to express my gratitude for the help given by various friends. That the greater part of the interest of this report is due to the work of Prof. Spiegelberg and

Sir H. Thompson will be obvious to the reader, but the services rendered by them were not confined to the preparation of the pages signed with their names. Both have been most ready in supplying information when asked and one of them (Sir H. T.) also spent some time at Saqqara and took a share in the field work. Mr. Hubert Brown was with me most of the winter and did a lot of planning and photography; Mr. Fitz-Roy Darke made the pen and ink drawings of the two capitals and aided me in plan-making when his official duties allowed. The frontispiece is from a watercolour by my wife.

J. E. Q.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAQQARA,

1907-1908.

MONASTERY OF APA JEREMIAS.

In the previous season a few cells had been cleared (see *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1906-1907) and there seemed good hope of discovering more further to the west; to the east nearly all the ground had been dug over, some of it to surprising depths, by the industrious *sebakhin*. So the rails were laid and two areas, the first just to the west of our old cells and chapel, the other a little to the north, were gradually excavated; between them lay a rather high mound which was left for the time. The sand and brickdust were thrown to the east on the old workings of the *sebakhin* and, later on, to the south, on ground we had previously tested and found unimportant. It is perhaps worth mentioning that most of my predecessors at Saqqara have not employed a railway; their spoilheaps were therefore limited in size by the distance a small boy could carry a basket without dropping too much of its contents, and have a certain recognisable shape, — a mound with one gradual slope up which the boys tramped, the soil in other directions lying steeply at the angle of rest. The wagons of course leave long flat spoilheaps like railway embankments, which will not, as time goes on, improve the landscape but will be recognised easily by the diggers of the future.

A group of rooms to the north of the rails were first cleared, then a branch was pushed south, and on deepening we found ourselves, not in brickdust but in sand, either therefore in a natural depression, an open court of the monastery or in some important building. On October 17th we found our first limestone capital which was soon followed by others and it was clear that the site was a building; it was not at first clear that it was a church, and a group of columns still standing outside the main building was puzzling. But proofs accumulated as time went on and we even got a quarry-mark «the church» on a block of the foundations. Now the whole building is cleared it seems strange that its nature can ever have been in doubt, yet there were weeks at the beginning when the learned who inspected the works would by no means commit themselves to a statement that the ruins were or were not those of a church. The first laid track cleared the church and the group of columns to the south of it, then a second road, running south, was used to clear the row of chambers to the west, and three other tracks to the east served to disclose the group of 1706 and the detached complex to the north.

THE CHURCH.

The general appearance of the church is shown in plates II and III. In them most stones of importance can be seen very near to the positions above which they were found. The sand, the

uninscribed and broken blocks from the walls and a quantity of red bricks have been cleared away, but all stones bearing inscriptions or graffiti or those with any peculiarity in shape that might serve towards the restoration of the plan have been left in place.

When the floor was cleared it was seen that of the north and south walls only a short length remained; the rest of the walls, the whole of the building at the east end and most of the walls of the narthex had been removed. Yet of the mouldings of the arches a great quantity remained and the tale of the capitals must be almost complete. It is plain that the church was finally destroyed by people in search of building stone, who took away first all the squared stones and left the curved and irregular pieces.

The four foundation stones of the building were in place, so the extreme length and breadth of the church with the narthex were readily determined; they are, very closely, 40 metres by 20. (The south-west stone had perhaps been moved a little.)

Though the general lines of the ground plan were easily drawn the further restoration of the church was difficult, for little above the floor level was left in its original state.

The church was basilican in form with two narrow aisles of 3 m. 30 cent. and a nave of very wide span (10 m. 25 cent. clear, 10 m. 80 cent. from centre to centre of the columns) and a returned aisle. The main entrance was from the narthex, a wide door of three bays; there was another on the north, leading to the monastery, and a third on the south side giving access from the covered colonnade or mandara. The internal length from the screen to the west door was 25 m. 50 cent. and the breadth 18 m. 05 cent.

The columns were fairly regularly spaced on the north side; on the south they were more crowded; two at least had been added to the original structure. The material was generally limestone but the two pillars on each side of the west door were of granite and there remained three columns of marble, relics, as we suppose, of the earliest church.

At various points on the floor of the church were the bases of piers(?) of dry masonry into which were built blocks from the walls, bases and even capitals; three of these rough piers are on the central line, the other three in the lines of columns; they are of the rudest construction, and, if they ever formed part of the church can only have been built at a time of great poverty when the roof was threatening to collapse and the monks could raise no funds for water and transport; labour they could always provide, we may suppose. But it is possible that these are only temporary stays or scaffolding, put in by the Arabs who demolished the building.

The floor consisted of a single layer of thin oblong slabs of limestone laid lengthwise to the church and directly on sand. In some places very poor repairs had been carried out, a missing slab being replaced by a rude mosaic formed of bits of other stones, including gravestones from the cemetery close by.

The pavement is for the most part intact but towards the west, in the axis, is a great hole which was dug out at the time of the destruction, for some blocks derived from the walls were found in it. There must have been some reason for the paving to be disturbed just at this spot and it is likely that here was the Epiphany tank.

Another hole had been dug in the north-east corner but west of the haikal; two good capitals were found in this. I can see no reason for its being made unless the Arabs once thought of digging

out a wall on which all the columns rested, made an attempt and then gave up the scheme, deterred by the expense.

Of the walls little but foundations remained; in the west wall the northern half is still three courses high; of the north wall at the west end there is a short length on both sides of the door, and on the south side (pl. II) there is one face of the wall with two pilasters remaining. The position of two other pilasters is shown by the gaps in the footing so the distances could be measured; from centre to centre the pilasters are 2 m. 89 c. apart.

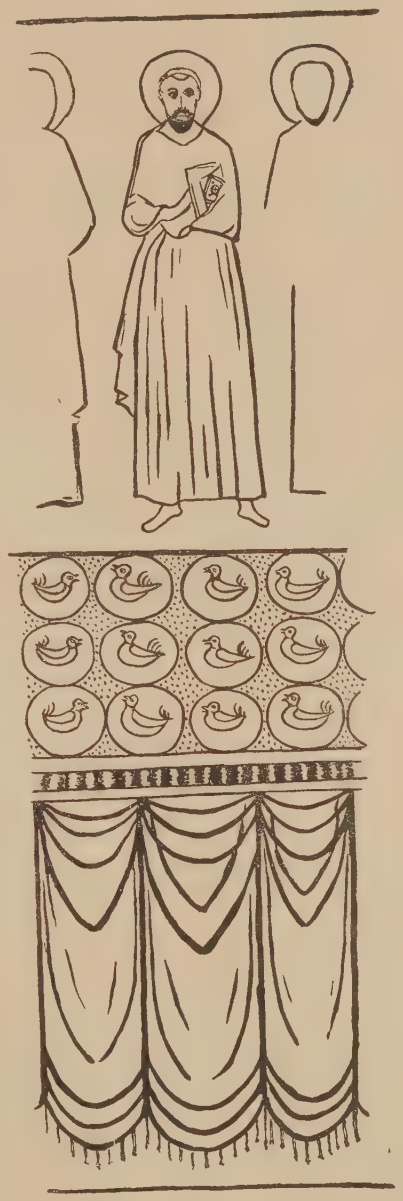


Fig. 1. — Design on a column.

What is left of the walls is enough to show how curiously bad their construction was. The face of a wall is neatly finished; long and short blocks alternate as if they were really bonded and the joints are close; but when we look at a wall in section we see that it is built in two separate faces with little or no bonding, that the space between is filled by a miscellaneous mass of red bricks and limestone chips with a lot of mud mortar, and that the facing blocks are not really bedded fairly on one another; the sides of the blocks are bevelled so that the contact is only along the front edge; behind this the stones gape apart and are wedged up with chips of stone and with mud. This arrangement throws excessive pressure on the front of the block and often causes flakes to shear off.

The capitals were found in the sand at varying but not great heights above the floor — up to one metre. There must have been at least this depth of sand in parts of the church during the last destruction and this fact makes it probable, though not certain, that the building had been abandoned some little time before the quarrying began. The singular variety of types among the capitals must indicate successive restorations. The acanthus capitals in the north row are of one kind (pl. XXIII) though there is considerable variety in their proportions; they are well and simply carved with the chisel, without apparent use of the drill, and are probably older than the vineleaf capitals, in the earliest and best of which the use of the drill is already apparent. They are all however of Toura limestone and were made locally; there were no capitals of marble left, if indeed any had existed. On the south side of the church the capitals were more varied but for the most part of the vineleaf type (pl. XVII-XXI).

The Corinthian capitals were not symmetrically placed; one was near the west end, another

at the east, nor did the position of the three palm and acanthus capitals give any indication of their original arrangement.

Some of the capitals have two vertical slots cut through the ornament, evidently to hold wooden screens; traces of these screens are still to be seen on the floor and are indicated on the plan.

The columns were nearly all of limestone, but two, one on each side of the west door, were of granite and three of marble remained from the earliest church. Two of these were complete, 3 m. 17 cent. and 3 m. 25 cent. in height. All the columns were of the same shape, slightly tapering and with a small necking at the top. Some had a rough chisel-dressed surface and had been plastered and painted; others had a smooth finish on which the painted decoration was laid directly (pl. XI and fig. 1, 2). All those of limestone were broken. Some bore Coptic graffiti incised; on one or two were marks in red ochre made by the Arab destroyers; one of these was the name Rashid.

Most of the bases were of limestone and of the form best seen in plate III above the right side of the stair. Some stood on blocks of wood. Two bore hieroglyphic inscriptions on the side, one of them a cartouche of Nectanebo Ist. But three were of marble, two of them octagonal (pl. XXIX, 5) and one square, all of much better design and execution than those of limestone. The marble is streaked gray in colour and is certainly foreign, presumably from Asia Minor. It seems that these bases, like everything else of marble, had survived from the ruin of the first church.

Above the capitals there must have been a series of round arches framed in a continuous moulding which ran from the spring of one arch to the next; of this moulding a great number of pieces remain.

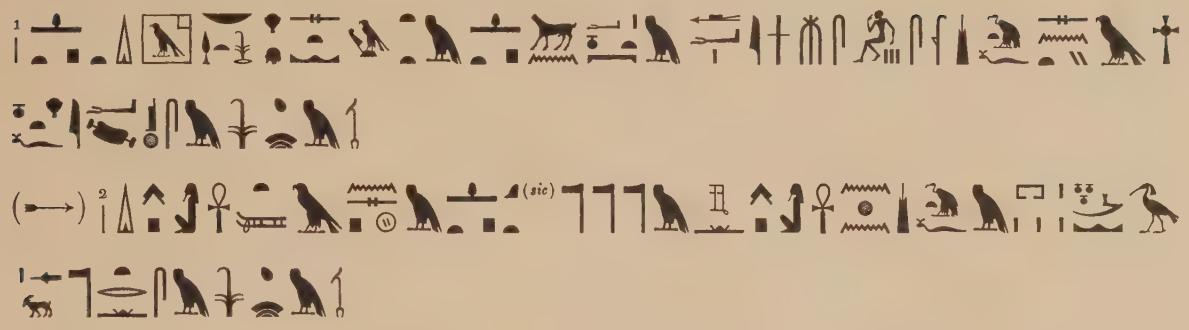
The capitals must also as in other Egyptian churches have been linked one to another by wooden beams; a rude sketch of two arches, faintly drawn on a flake of stone, gave evidence of this.

As to the upper part of the walls little can be said; it may have been built of brick; a considerable quantity of bricks, 5000 at least, were found on the site. It is probable that the smaller capitals with slots come from windows. At the east end there was certainly a window of stained glass.

Of the roof no fragment was recognised with certainty, but the span of the nave is so great that only a framed wooden structure could cover it. That little or nothing of this was found is regrettable but not surprising; the Arabs would take the large beams for scaffolding, the smaller pieces would serve as firewood for the guards and workmen. One heavy plank was found in the mandara and some thin painted boards (pl. XXXIX) were probably used to cover the beams above the capitals.

At the east end is a line of great blocks of alabaster raised 0 m. 15 cent. above the floor and forming a low bench; in the centre and at the south this is well preserved and more detached blocks were found in the hole dug in the floor in the north-east corner; no doubt the bench went right across the church. Across the north end of the part preserved was found an oblong block of dark basalt, the base of a statue, with an inscription of Khaemuas. This stone was not *in situ* but had probably some connection with the bench; it may have been a step into the haikal.

The texts engraved on the sides of this base are as follows :



(Dimensions 1 m. 10 cent. by 0 m. 54 cent. by 0 m. 37 cent.)

The front and upper surfaces of the alabaster are polished and shiny; the back edge (the east side), is dull. It is 0 m. 53 cent. high, so the floor inside the haikal was lower than the floor of the church and the priest must have stepped down to approach the altar; this is surely a unique feature.

Against this matt surface the wooden screen, the hegab, must have been fixed; several fragments of it were found close by (pl. XL, 3, and pl. XXXIX, 6, 7); it will be noticed that the woodwork was rather rough and that there was nothing here like the later mosaics of ivory and wood in the Old Cairo churches.

In this quarter too were found several fragments of a lattice window of plaster with irregular bits of coloured glass stuck on outside; the technique is exactly that of the mosque windows of later centuries and was evidently learnt by the Arabs from the Copts.

Of the floor of the haikal no stone remains in place but a quantity of fragments of marble, 0 m. 05 cent. thick, show what its nature was, and of the plaster foundation below it some part still remains.

To the east of this two curved stones of the apse, painted red, were preserved, enough to enable us to complete the half-circle on the plan. The foundations below them were of the roughest, merely an oblong mass of unburnt brick; and this too had been dug out, doubtless by men searching for treasure below the altar; only a shell of brickwork remained.

But this apse is not the original one; further east and at a lower level (pl. IV) are two courses of solid stone, the remains of foundations of very different quality. Above them, on the north side, a single curved stone from the apse remains; when the centre of the circle was found by trial and the curve continued the red line by which the mason had laid out his work was found on the south side, though all the stones of the wall had gone. (I owe this observation to Sir William Richmond.) We can then be sure of the position and size of the original apse and see that there was space to admit two side chapels, though they would be small, — also that, as is always the case in Egypt, the curve of the apse was not visible outside the church; the east wall was straight.

The space between the east walls of the first and second churches is then in part filled by the foundations of the earlier apse. North and south of these are two stairs of red brick, three steps

high, symmetrically placed. On the floor on which the north one rests were found a large number of the slightly curved stones which must have formed a semidome (pl. XLIII, 1). Here too was the heap of cubes of glass from a mosaic and some fragments of bronze (pl. XLI, 2). Most of the glass lay together in a heap not quite close to the wall; many fragments were scattered over the floor; they appeared to have fallen from a dome rather than from the face of the wall. After being washed they were sorted out into different colours and weighed. The following table gives the weights of the different colours in grammes and shows that the background of the picture was golden.

Opaque cubes, sulphur and greenish-yellow	412 gr.
Opaque cubes, cream white and other light tints	583
Opaque cubes, grass-green and light blue (semitr.)	1150
Opaque cubes, red and pink	890
Opaque cubes, very dark vague colours	150
Transparent cubes, dark-blue	541
Transparent cubes, gilt	1710

The tesserae are 0 m. 006 mill. to 0 m. 010 mill. in the side, often very irregular in form. The gilt ones are much better shaped; they are made of amber and bottle-green glass covered with a layer of gold leaf over which a slip of clear glass, 1/3 mill. thick, is superposed.

Fig. 2. — From a column.

In the north half of the west wall two courses of stone remain and below them a course of beams of wood; the lower stones had been plastered and where the plaster has fallen away the surface is seen to be blackened and split from the action of fire.

Another result of fire is visible in the state of the bases of the two granite columns, which are worn and rounded. The columns are 3 m. 22 cent. high, the bases 0 m. 50 cent. and 0 m. 55 cent. above the floor. Close to the wall stood a large support for water jars (pl. XXXVIII, 3).

The door into the narthex consists of three bays separated by two columns with simple bases supported on blocks of wood.

NARTHEX.

The narthex is divided in three by a wall of brick, evidently a late addition, and by a second wall of stone of which little remains but the foundations; these, however, are as solid as anything in the church. In the north part the external walls remain two courses high; in the south they have nearly disappeared. Of the pavement also but few stones remain. In the middle of the west wall a threshold of granite shows the position and width (1 m. 30 cent.) of the doorway.

In the northernmost of the three divisions a capital was found of palm and acanthus type : in the middle, opposite the church door, was a cylindrical tub of limestone, 0 m. 97 cent. high,

0 m. 97 cent. in exterior diameter and 0 m. 10 cent. thick, lying on its side. Traces of plaster on the outside showed that it had been embedded in masonry up to 0 m. 30 cent. from the mouth; such an object would not be moved far from its original position which was probably just to the north of the entrance, in the angle formed by the cross wall of brick and the outer wall on the west. Near this was a small column of marble, 1 m. 65 cent. long, in section rather a square with rounded corners than a circle. In the southern third of the narthex is a bricklined shaft which is probably Coptic. Of the walls here nothing remained except on the east side a few blocks and in the corner the foundation stone, a large basis of a statue with an inscription in the name of Khaemuas; this, with other blocks of Khaemuas, will appear later. Outside the narthex to the west was a court or passage of irregular shape the other side of which was formed by a heavy wall of complex construction; the western half of it was composed of the side-walls of various cells but these had been thickened, evidently for purposes of defence, and many fine decorated stones, obtained from the ruins of the church, were reused as building material in this outer buttress wall.

MANDARA.

This was an L-shaped covered court or platform to the south of the church, on the same level with it and higher than the ground to south and east, from which it was approached by steps (pl. III and V). Here no less than nine columns remained standing, though in the church itself all had been pulled down. We may suppose then that the roof was very light.

The pier of masonry seen on the right in plate V looks as if it belonged to another and earlier structure, but this is not certain; something stouter than the columns may have been needed at this corner. The pier is built externally of masonry tied with two belts of wood work; the inside is of brick. On the north side is an invocation of saints (pl. XLVI, 1) and below is a triangular niche in which a lamp has stood. To the right of the pier in plate V are seen two columns and still further a wall, which the work of the next year showed to belong to a water-tank.

The mandara was paved with slabs similar to those used in the church but had been more repaired and among the blocks used in these repairs were several gravestones (pl. XLIV) dated to the middle of the VIIIth and the beginning of the IXth centuries. As we cannot suppose that a grave would be robbed for building stone until after 50 years or so from the death of the brother buried in it we see that repairs were going on at any rate as late as 850 A. D.

The mandara was approached from the east by a double stairway (pl. III); the narrow way on the right may have led directly to a gallery for women, but no trace of the upper stair that would be needed was seen.

The roof extended over the stair, for the bases of two columns remain on the side walls. Against one of these leans an oblong stone with a roundel above enclosing a cross; a similar cross must have stood in front of the other base. On one of the stones of the wall below this is an Arabic graffito (pl. L, 4) probably of the Xth century, a profession of the Muslim faith by a certain Abu el Abbas ibn Ahmed ibn Mohamed ibn el Walîd. This is important as bearing on the date

at which the monastery was destroyed for we cannot suppose that while it was still inhabited any Arab could have engraved his protest undisturbed.

THE BRICK BUILDINGS.

We now turn from the church to describe the complex of buildings in brick — cells, storehouses, stables — which surrounded it. The most striking feature of these buildings as a whole is their irregularity, due both to the original plan and to the constant alteration to which it was evidently submitted. Walls are not straight nor vertical; the angles are not right angles : the walls were often built too thin and soon leaned over at alarming slopes; when this happened they were not taken down and rebuilt, but a buttress was added to prevent any further bending. These buttresses, projecting masses of brickwork of various shapes, form a characteristic feature of the site.

The walls are always of mud brick, but corners and door jambs are often of stone; in poorer rooms the doorway is of brick into which one or two blocks of limestone, pierced for a bolt-hole or carved to serve as a latch, are inserted.

The long magazines had barrel-roofs of brick; the smaller chambers were roofed with palm-logs supported by a single pillar.

In nearly every room there is some sign of change of plan or of reuse : rooms have been filled in with rubbish to a certain level, then reemployed; windows and doors have been blocked up. This blocking of doors and passages is very striking; it seems that as the power of the monastery declined and the risk of attack increased, thoroughfares were felt to be a danger that could be avoided, so passages and doors were blocked on every hand in order to make the building as much of a maze as possible.

The purpose of some rooms is sufficiently plain — the cells with painted niches in the east side and numerous cupboards in the walls, the bakery, the winecellar, the cowbyres. The room of the founder was marked by an inscription; the wall of the guardroom close by bore the rude portraits of the watchmen; long chambers with barrel-roofs are presumed to be magazines; one large hall may have been the hospital; but for many rooms no definite use could be assigned. In describing them it will be convenient not to follow strictly the sequence of numbers, which represents only the order in which the rooms were cleared, but to take the buildings in groups, first those near the church on the north and west, then the detached block further to the north.

North of the church. — There was originally a clear way all round the church, paved on this side at least; the stout wall at the end of the north corridor is a late addition as is clear from the careless way in which it was built. In the corridor stood the large basin on a granite stand (pl. XIV, 4). A door with granite threshold gave access to the church; two ways led into the monastery, one through the hall (705), the other by an unroofed passage (702) at the east end.

Between them is the buttressed south wall of a group of chambers (704, 703) all built at the same time. The buttress, made of stone below, of crude brick above, was added later.

703. Chamber of crude brick, covered with white plaster; it has two windows in the north wall, two in the south. Along the middle (north and south) line of the floor was a row of blocks which appeared to be architraves but that they were too heavy. One was 2 m. 50 cent. by 0 m. 40 cent. by 0 m. 30 cent. Some pieces of palm-logs made it more probable that the roof was a light one. The floor was paved with well-worn stones, one 0 m. 60 cent. by 0 m. 30 cent. Near the south wall was the fine capital of plate XXII, 1.

The entry was paved with slabs like the rest of the room; these did not rest on the sand but were supported by three planks obtained from an Old Egyptian coffin, and below them was a hollow containing three pots, a small bowl, a large wide vase with round base and a *qadûs* (one of the vases used in a water-wheel) : the last two were filled with chaff. With them was a wooden lid which fitted the *qadûs*, bearing in incised letters the name ⲁⲡⲁⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ.

One of the slabs in the pavement bore on the underside the inscription n° 40 (pl. XLVIII, 7).

704. Bakery. Fragments of wood and reed from the roof. Two windows in north wall. Upper part of walls much blackened. Part of a window frame of stone was found in the filling. Chamber contained a stone mortar 0 m. 45 cent. cube and an old Egyptian alabaster mould for making ushabtis. In the south-west corner was a heap of ashes.

707. Cupboards in north and south walls; in one of them was a wooden comb. Walls 2 m. 50 cent. high only, but they are denuded to the sills of the windows; the probable height of the room was then about 3 1/4 metres. The pavement was of stone.

710. Contained the fine capital of plate XVI, 1, a small marble pillar, part of a limestone window-frame with ⲭⲙⲅ on the upper bar, and an unfinished epitaph on a paving-stone (pl. XLIX, 1).

709. A small cell, the east wall of which is later than those to west and south. The pillar in this wall is central to the chamber in its original state and must have supported the roof before the alterations were made.

The wall to the west is double; in the middle of it is a face of plaster painted red on the west side. The decoration on the walls is more elaborate than on any room yet found. On the south-west and north walls is a series of half-length figures of the Virtues and under them a band of interlaced ornament. Each Virtue has her name written above; on the south side they are ⲑⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ, ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ and ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ (*sic*), on the west three whose names are lost, then ⲩⲡⲟⲙⲟⲛⲏ, ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣ̄ⲙ[ⲛ2ⲏⲧ], ⲧ2ⲁⲣⲉⲱ2ⲏⲧ and another; on the north side there are traces of two figures (pl. IX and pl. X, 1, 2, 3); on the east side is the niche with the painting of Our Lord (pl. VIII and frontispiece); to the left is a palmtree, to the right two decorated crosses and, below the band of interlaced ornament, two peacocks facing each other.

The construction of the east wall is of the roughest; no attempt was made to get a vertical face (pl. X, 2). The character of the painting and the evidence from the building would alike lead us to attribute this chamber to a later date than the chapel (B) described in the last report.

714. The other half of the old room which was divided in two when the paintings of n° 709

were made. It contained part of a good capital of the type of that in plate XXV, hollowed out to form a mortar or basin; it was in poor condition. A double pilaster capital of simple type and a large number of potsherds were also found. There was no trace of plaster on the walls.

713. Room with plaster floor. No stone of the pavement remains and on the west the plaster foundation is broken through so that its section can be seen. It consists of two layers, each 0 m. 025 mill. thick, with a course of bricks embedded between them. On the east side are remains of a stair. At 1 m. 90 cent. from the floor is a series of holes at equal distances into which beams may have fitted and supported a light platform. At the west side a few stones are laid round the oblong hole broken through the floor; the place was perhaps a trough for fodder. There is an oven in the south-east corner.

705. To the west of this block of rooms is a more important one (705), a hall through which access was obtained to the room of the abbot and to the monastery; the north wall should not be shown unbroken in the plan as a door was found later. At the south end the doorway was an elaborate one; here were the two handsome door-jambs of plate XXX, and the Nekhthorheb stela, laid face upwards, formed the threshold. As in the gateway of the hospital (pl. VI) though the walls were of brick, the sides of the doorway were built in stone with two bands of wood inserted, a broad one below and a narrow one above. In this door the wood was better preserved; in the deep band at half the height of the column a piece remained with some traces of carving, and outside them on each side of the door a block from an Old Kingdom mastaba (representing a group of fishes), had been inserted, clearly for the decorative effect.

Below the pier of masonry on the west, outside of the door, stood the cross with two steps of plate XXXVIII.

Opposite the other side of the door in the corridor a late wall ran north and south for 2-3 metres and at the south of this was a stair leading up eastward. These two features seemed very late and are not indicated on the plan. The roof was supported by two columns of limestone, 2 m. 85 cent. high, which are still standing. Two capitals lay below them, both of the type of plate XXII, 4, one of them very large.

Inside the room had been plastered and covered with paintings, of which considerable traces remained on the east wall. Below a line of upright figures of saints was an inscription (n° 104) mentioning «our southern house». Along the foot of the wall ran a stone bench supported on bases carved like pilaster capitals (one in plate XLIII, 4) and this widened near the door to a rough platform half a metre high, made of parts of columns and other stones, evidently a very late structure. A well-carved candelabrum or stand for a basin (pl. XXIX, 6) lay also near the door. A stand for water-jars (pl. XXXVIII, 4) fragments of an altar slab of marble, the inscriptions n^{os} 61, 104, 105 and the only two Greek inscriptions found (pl. LI, 1, 2), some bits of wood carving of an interlacing pattern, a double pilaster capital of limestone and parts of two small marble pillars (0 m. 12 cent. in diameter) complete the list of monuments from this room.

706. This was the room of the watchmen, as the rude pictures and the graffiti on the wall (pl. XI, 3) informed us.

711. A stair leading up from 705 westwards.

712. A chamber with walls 3 m. 30 cent. high. This is a height frequently attained but seldom surpassed in these walls of brick and was probably not far from the general height of cells. The walls are painted Pompeian red to a height of 1 m. 70 cent.; above this comes white plaster. On the west side was a rather elaborate cross in a wreath, 0 m. 55 cent. in diameter, painted on the plaster. The wreath was of red colour and fastened with a tie below; leaves spring from the junction of the two crossbars and in the four spaces left between the arms of the cross and the encircling wreath are the words ϹΩϹΟΝ and ΝΙΚΑ.

The stone cross of plate XXXVIII, 5 (left), is also from this room.

773. A chamber of some importance as the decoration on the walls and the inscription on the floor alike testify. This inscription (pl. XLIV, 4) states that «this is the place where Apa Jeremias used to sit». When the stone was removed for transport to the Museum another pavement was found below it at a depth of 0 m. 40 cent. So it is possible that the inscribed slab commemorates only the spot where Jeremias' cell once stood and that we are not to suppose that he ever inhabited the chamber of which we see here the ruins.

The room has a dais at one end raised by a single step above the rest of the floor. From the edge of the dais rose two columns and on the east wall was a pilaster. This does not mean that the dais alone was roofed; the good preservation of the floor and the paintings shows that this cannot have been the case. There were too in the filling some pieces of palm-logs which must have come from the roof.

The west wall had already threatened to fall in antiquity and had been held up by two buttresses; these we took down, for several good capitals had been employed in building them (pl. XIII, 2).

Three of the four walls had been plastered and painted; on the north wall there was no trace of such ornament left; in this wall too and in the north part of the east wall the bonding of bricks differed from that in the rest of the room, so they are probably restorations.

The paintings are shown in the plates, the south wall in plate XII, the east in plate XIII, 1; on the west little was left. Above there were traces of human figures standing among flowers, then an inscription of Saints' names and below them on a white ground just the names ΝΕΒΩΧΟΔΟΝΟϹΟΡ and ΔΟΥΛΟϹ, evidently a description of a scene which has disappeared, perhaps destroyed when the buttresses were built.

The rooms west of 773 are not numbered as they did not contain anything of interest.

To the north is the pair of rooms (1704, 1706) separated by the elaborate stone screen of plate VII and beyond them are the three magazines (1712-1714) which were but partly cleared in this season.

1704. A long room seen, partly dug out, on the right of plate VII. There is a door in the south-west corner but at 1 m. 85 cent. above the floor : it gave access to the cowbyre (1701). At this same level there is a series of holes in the west wall which may be the traces left by the beams of a very light roof. Fragments of very thin paving slabs found low down in the filling also go

to show that this was at one time a two-storeyed building. The walls are exceptionally high (4 metres). The pavement was of stone. A stand for waterjars with lion-head spout was found : it was in poor condition.

In the north wall were two windows, in the west a cupboard the roof of which was a console of palmwood (pl. XL, 1); higher up, on the level of the door was a graffito on the plaster (pl. L, 1). In the filling were a number of fragments of glass and part of a vase of earthenware with a painted inscription in Arabic.

Between this room and the next to the east (1706) was the screen of plate VII, consisting of four piers and two columns; the bases of the columns and of the false pilasters on the piers are 0 m. 70 cent. above the floor of the two rooms. Another floor must once have existed at the higher level. The screen is evidently a late insertion; the pilaster built into the south pier on the west side (pl. VII, right) shows that stones from an earlier Coptic structure were employed in it. The spaces between piers and columns were originally closed by wood-work but later were blocked with walls of mud brick. The columns in the east and west row were still standing; two of them were of marble (2 m. 65 cent. and 2 m. 75 cent. long), the others of limestone. Two capitals were found (one in plate XXIX, 1).

The south wall is separated from the north wall of room 773 by a space too narrow to have ever been used as a passage; in the wall is a doorway which had in the latest times been blocked: it is just opposite another blocked doorway in the founder's room (773).

In the north wall are four doors; of these the westernmost was blocked; it had led into a passage; the three others opened into long magazines.

In the east wall a door which had not been recognised when the map was made should be shown; to the north of the door the wall is of brick, to the south of stone, of better work than the rest of the room. At the middle point of this wall a stone basin 1/2 metre square and 0 m. 30 cent. deep, is sunk in the floor.

We proceed now to the series of rooms on the west of the plan.

1702. Used as a cowbyre in later period. Divided into three by brick walls with stone foundations (pl. XIII, 4, left). In the filling a pilaster capital from a gateway and part of an acanthus capital like those in the north aisle of the church (pl. XXIII). The lower part of the walls, below the level at which the cows stood, is covered with white plaster.

1701. A similar room (pl. XIII, 4, right) dug out only to the level at which the cattle were kept. On the right is the doorway into chamber 1704. There is a blocked door in the north-east corner.

770. An unimportant room. The walls are covered with thin plaster : in them are three cupboards. The door to the north was blocked. The south door had stone jambs. On the south side of it was the inscription n° 76.

771. Contained a piece of a stone window-frame, some fragments of glass and one of the wooden toys in the form of a cat (pl. XL, 5).

774. This space was perhaps an open yard : there is no pavement left and the walls surrounding it are of various types of work. The half-wall between this and 775 is of stone and contains two Egyptian blocks reused, one from a New Empire tomb, the other from a mastaba. In the eastern half too (775) are several inscribed blocks reused. On the two gateways are several graffiti in black and red ink. One, difficult to decipher, is in Arabic and written by a Muslim. The blocked doorway in the south wall formerly led into the open space west of the church before the heavy buttressed wall was built.

782. This is shown as a passage but was later filled in and formed with the rough east wall a single buttress. In the west wall were four narrow slits, in pairs, plastered internally, once windows

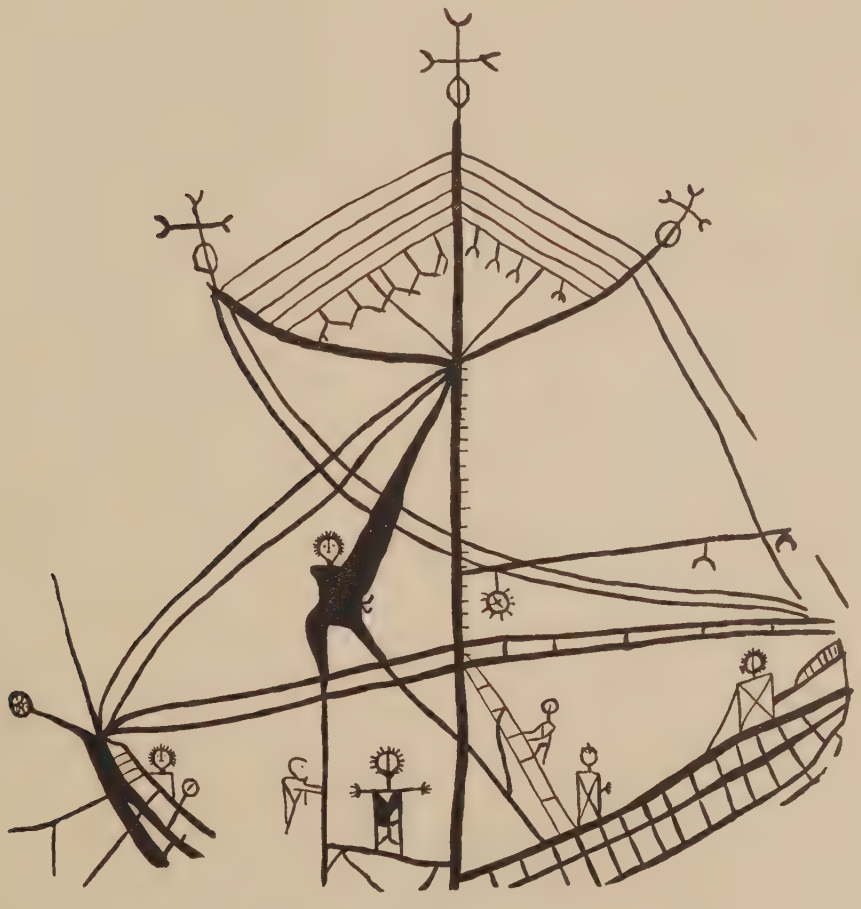


Fig. 3.

to the two small rooms 779 and 785. This wall was plastered, and painted on it was the rude picture of a ship with crosses on mast and yard (see fig. 3) also a graffito in Coptic (n° 143). In the filling was the small ostracon of plate XLII, 3, with the Blemmye(?) inscription.

779. Room with blocked door at north-west corner; in the blocking a stone with an inscription (n° 77). Two pillars of limestone are still standing, one with its capital, but their bases do

not reach the plaster floor. In the room another block (pl. XLV, 4) with the name of Jeremias the Archimandrite.

785. Blocked door in the north-east corner. Height of walls 3 m. 40 cent. The threshold of the door in the north-west is at the level of the lintel of the other door. The room had then been occupied at two different levels. In it were a capital, two pieces of bas-relief (pl. XXXV, 1, 2) and a fragment of an ivory comb.

The stair south-east of this room led up to the roof or to an upper storey that has now disappeared.

787. A cell with a blocked door in the north-east, another in the west and a third, with stone jambs, to the south. The floor is paved; one of the stones bears the inscription of plate XLIX, 4. In the north wall were traces of an airshaft, in the east of an oratory, while in the south and west walls were cupboards. The jambs of the door are visible in plate XIII, 3.

788. A small space bounded on the east by the heavy buttress wall and on the west by the last cell. In it is a small stair of mud brick (pl. XIII, 3).

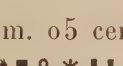
789. Probably an open passage. In the west wall is a blocked door, on the east the heavy buttress wall; from it a jarstand and a good piece of cornice were recovered. Two of the flat blocks of plate XLV, 1, with inscription in high relief, were found here. The small one, beginning ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΚΗС, was from the church side of the wall. The floor was paved and in it was an inscribed block, an epitaph of the usual type mentioning a ΠΙΩΤΝΡΙ▨ΟΥΙ (not photographed). Above the floor was a fine decorated block with floral ornament and human figures. It was found in the next season and will appear in a plate of the next report but is mentioned here to complete the account of this room. It is a block 1 m. 35 cent. long by 0 m. 45 cent. high and 0 m. 15 cent. thick; in the centre is a cross; on each side are two circles of foliage; inside these are four heads, those of a man, an ox, a lion and again a man. Below is a line of text ΑΟΧΑΘ$\bar{\text{Υ}}\bar{\text{Ι}}\bar{\text{С}}\bar{\text{Χ}}$ΝΙΚΑ†ΑΣΒΙΚ-ΤΩΡ†ΑϹΙΝΜΝΩΟΙΠϹϥΩΗΡϹΑΜΗΝ. Another block, a small one, bore the names ΦΙΝϹΥΤϹ (*sic*) and ΜΗΝΑ arranged in the four angles of a cross and (2) in a square surmounted by a cross the name ΑΠΑ ΚΟΛΟϬϹ ΠΩϹΝ ΠϹΤΡϹ arranged in four lines.

Another stone bore the inscription ΜΑΡΘΑ▨ΜΟΥϹ and yet another (pl. XXVI, 3) the laurel-wreath pattern in relief.

793. The door jambs were of stone; in one was a pilaster capital inverted and employed as a base (pl. XXXII, 1, top). The floor was of plaster 0 m. 06 cent. thick; a hole had been broken through this in the middle and below it appeared two walls of red brick, apparently of earlier Coptic work. In the south-west corner was an upright cylinder of earthenware, 0 m. 60 cent. in diameter, with a quantity of ashes below it. In the walls were five cupboards.

794. Another small room. The door is decorated with pilaster capitals placed 0 m. 70 cent. from the ground, not therefore in their original position. The floor is of plaster; from it rises a stone with an L-shaped hole drilled from the top and from one side — used, we may suppose, for tying animals.

795. A small square chamber with stone pavement and, in the centre, a slender pillar of limestone : the walls were once plastered white. In the north-west corner was a bench. A fragment of a stone window-frame decorated with floral ornament, some fragments of amphoræ, an ostracon and the skull of a wild boar were found in this chamber. The ostracon bore a row of six names each followed by a high numeral : ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲍⲁⲙ ⲁ, ⲍⲉⲣⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁ' ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲁ(?) ▨ⲅⲓⲁ ⲁⲓⲉ ▨ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲓⲁ.

796. A room divided in two by a row of columns down the centre, the spaces between these having been later blocked with masonry of brick and stone. In this wall, inverted and used as a base to a half column, was the smallest of the vineleaf capitals (pl. XXII, 2). Another of the columns had been obtained from the tomb of a certain Ptahmes. It is a papyrus bundle column, 2 m. 05 cent. high, with a text on the abacus : (→)  and and another of seven vertical lines on a tablet below the pendent ties :

(→)

798. Has a stone floor sloping down to the east and, in the south-east corner, an L-shaped manger.

The cells north-east of the church marked on the plan with the letters A-J have been described in the report of last year. We now turn to the detached group further north. The space between has since been found to contain other parts of the monastery; in no direction indeed had the limits of the buildings been at this time reached.

726. The most important room in this group has been provisionally called the hospital, but the evidence for this attribution is slight, being only the presence on the doorjamb of the inscription (n° 2) which mentions the hospital.

The room was certainly an important one; its size, the good stone pavement and the elaborate doors to north and south sufficed to prove so much.

The floor is of good limestone slabs, laid north and south, fairly regular in size. The lengths of a group of contiguous blocks were, in centimetres :

133, 130, 130, 133, 98, 115, 118, 110, 111, 128, 123, 118,

and the breadths : 43, 43, 43, 43, 49, 49, 49, 49, 49, 42, 42, 42.

No graffiti were observed on the floor.

The walls were of brick, plastered and painted red; on the west side part of the wall was of good stone, apparently being part of an earlier building; one of the blocks, certainly reused,

bore the name of Nectanebo Ist. In the north-west corner was a room formed by the addition of two walls of careless construction, the upper part of them consisting of a row of amphoræ daubed over with mud. Down the middle is a row of columns; several capitals of a simple type were found.

The room was probably covered by two barrel-vaults or by two rows of small domes, for at the south end were some of those thin bricks with deeply channelled faces which were specially made for building arches without wooden centering.

In the north wall were two cupboards and in the north-east corner a stone shelf. The north door (pl. XIV, 1) was blocked with masonry; when this was taken down one of the stones composing it was found to be a fragment of the original east doorjamb for which the block with the shell and two whorls had been substituted.

In the east wall, going from north to south, there were to be noted two large cupboards, a buttress built up against the red plaster, then another blocked door, two more cupboards and two niches, a larger and a smaller one; before the first on the floor were three incised crosses, once probably containing metal but now filled with plaster; on the edge of the slab forming the base of the smaller niche the names of the two founders were incised.

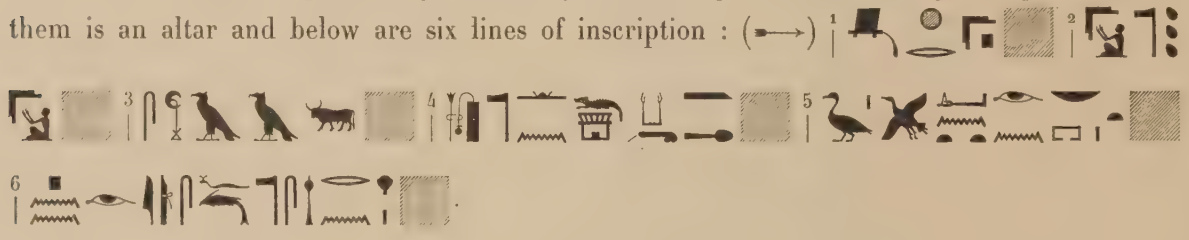
The southern gateway must have been elaborately decorated; its appearance as found is seen in plate XIV, 2, and in plate VI; the blocks overthrown from it and found just to the south fill plate XXXI.

The east end of the south wall is formed by the stone pier. Next to this is a cupboard low down, then a pilaster in the line of the columns then two cupboards, the first bricked up, the second bearing on its back wall the only graffito discovered in this room ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑϹΟΝ ΑΛϾ[illegible]ΑΠΑ[illegible].

In the west wall were three more cupboards.

Buried below the floor at a point a little north of the middle and near the west wall was a very large vase 1 m. 20 cent. high and 3 m. 10 cent. round, covered with a heavy limestone lid with a hole in the middle. This was not observed till the second season and is not marked on the present plan.

Of small objects there were few; the most important were a small round-topped stela 0 m. 12 cent. wide, representing a kneeling man facing left and adoring an Apis; between them is an altar and below are six lines of inscription : (⟶)



728. A chamber with a peculiar niche in the east wall (pl. VI).

The line on the plan between this room and 722 represents a change of level in the floor; it was not clear if a wall had stood there or not. The walls were plastered and painted; on the north side was a frieze of standing figures of saints. In the east wall were two windows with sloping sills; below one of them was an inscription (n° 96) in large letters; it had been covered with whitewash and was well preserved. Just below it was a graffito in small characters ΑΡΙΠ·

ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉⲛⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥⲡⲁⲩⲁⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁⲡⲁⲛⲓⲁⲁⲉⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲫ̄ⲧⲟⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲫ · · · ⲟⲩⲧ and above it was another : ⲁⲡⲁⲕⲓⲣⲓⲱⲛⲏⲁⲓⲁⲥ.

Under this was a cornice moulding in clay painted with a design in dark ochre and blue; this had fallen away before the photograph was taken.

Below each window is a cupboard. Between them is the niche, which differs from the other niches found in the cells in that it contains no table or altar and that the curve (pl. XIV, 3) is pierced by a window. This is nearly square, and has a sloping sill, plastered and painted. On the reveal of the window is a design of a dove with ribbons floating from its neck and a leafy branch before it; on the sill are five circles with red rims and red spots on a slatey background.

The pillars are dissimilar; that on the left has spiral flutings and the flutings are triangular in section while the grooves of the chevrons on the right are square. Holes are pierced at the tops of the capitals as if to support a curtain.

The conch has been covered with a thin layer of plaster and then painted brightly. The feather pattern inside is blue with yellow outlines; the oakleaves(?) on the rim were alternately red and green. The wall at this part is built of red brick in order to support the weight of this stone.

The objects found loose in the sand were a small pilaster capital (type of plate XXXII, 2, top), a small bottle of very thick lightcoloured glass and a doll of bone.

722. In the two corners of the north side were the remains of brick ovens, on the west side a built caldron and a bench. The north wall was decorated with the pattern shown in plate LIII of the last report and, less completely, in plate L, 2, of this volume, a scalloped red band with green leaves in the U-shaped spaces and also above the knobs on the sides of these curves.

On the wall were two graffiti (nos 113 and 114) and in the filling was a stone (pl. XLV, 3) with a Coptic inscription written backwards.

727. This was, in the next season, found to be a large and important room, the refectory — but in this year only a small part of one wall was cleared. On it however to the north of the doorway was the important inscription (pl. L, 2, n° 91) giving the month and day of the month on which the two founders were born, ordained and died. To the south of the door was the best painting found as yet, the head of an archangel in a medallion (pl. XI, 4) and below it a graffito (n° 115) giving the names of some of the Alexandrian patriarchs. This part of the wall was in an unfortunate condition; the graffito was too faint to be photographed and the painting fell before it could be copied in colour.

729. This must have been an open space to the south of the hospital(?). In it were found a series of blocks from the doorway (pl. XXXI). Below the west and north walls were benches of stone; on the west wall was a graffito (n° 117) in large red letters.

743. A small room with a pillar still standing in the centre.

744. This contained the stone with an inscription in the Fayumic dialect (n° 41, pl. XLVIII, 8) also a pot full of seeds of safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*). These were identified by the workmen and their opinion confirmed by Mr. Fletcher, the Director of the Agricultural School.

Among the rooms on the east of the hospital we may note the following :

735. The west wall is of brick; on the east only the foundations are left, but they are of good stone. In this quarter it appears that some earlier and better building has been reused.

732. A descending stair leads out of this room in the north-east corner.

The pavement is of stone. Above it were three loose stones, each decorated with a long incised cross, almost of the Latin form — a plain pilaster capital, two lamps of the squat jug type (pl. XLII, 2, both ends of middle row) and two of the blocks of stone used for boltholes in brick doorways.

737. This room was roofed by a barrel vault made of unbaked bricks (0 m. 24 cent. by 0 m. 15 cent. by 0 m. 055 mill.) with diagonal grooves on the faces. There were quantities of broken pottery and one complete amphora. A circular wooden stamp or lid bore an incised cross.

740. Contained part of a lintel with two crossed fishes as ornament (pl. XLV, 6).

733. Cell with a small niche or oratory in the east wall : the table had been broken off and the niche partly bricked up and converted into a cupboard. On the curved surface of the back was a small painting of Christ seated with one hand raised in benediction (pl. X, 4). On each side was an angel with hands raised. The floor is of stone; the walls were plastered and a dado of dark red, 1 m. 60 cent. high, ran round the room; above it the walls were white.

In the north wall were two air-shafts, in the west wall a cupboard. Along the south wall was a bench 0 m. 70 cent. high, built mostly of brick but at the east end of stone; in this a stone vase was imbedded; the lid was in place. A simple capital lay on the floor.

Turning now to the space north of the hospital we have :

739. This was an open yard with a shed on the west side; part of the stone floor of the shed with spaces cut out for the bases of pillars remained in place.

742. A long barrel-vaulted storeroom, probably a winecellar. The spring of the arch still stood and in the V-shaped space between it and the wall were considerable quantities of potsherds, probably constructional. The vault had perhaps collapsed in antiquity, for in the wall, at a level above what is left of the arch, were a series of holes for the insertion of wooden rafters. In the filling, at a high level, was a rough stone mortar 0 m. 80 cent. high. There were also a lot of vases more or less broken.

746. Probably another winecellar. A stair led out of the room in the north-west corner. The lower steps were made in a pier of unbaked brick : the upper part was built on palmlogs which stretched from this pier to the north wall and were further supported by transverse baulks.

In the filling were two curious objects of limestone, perhaps stands for draining vases after they were washed. They consisted of a short cylinder (0 m. 25 cent. long and 0 m. 09 cent. in diameter) rising from a round tray 0 m. 22 cent. in diameter and 0 m. 03 cent. deep; the execution is rough and there is no sign of heavy wear.

725, a long magazine and 724, part of a large court, became more intelligible during the next season and may be left to a future report.

TEMPLE OF TETA PYRAMID.

The excavation here was continued, but still probably not a quarter of the temple has been cleared; the great amount of stone to be moved makes this work both expensive and slow. The accompanying figure (4) and the photograph in plate LIII show the present state of the site. On the right (pl. LIII) is the small pyramid of Neferkara (?), described in the last report; the top of the pyramid, as it now stands, is at the level of the XIXth Dynasty floor. Between this and the main temple is a passage over 2 metres wide; the pavement here has gone, so the passage looks dark in the reproduction; in it lie several stones from the rounded top of the temenos wall. To the left is the floor of the temple; in some places one, in others two, layers of stone remain; in others the pavement has been entirely swept away. The XIXth Dynasty cemetery extended over this part of the site as over the small pyramid, and from its level stone-lined shafts had been dug, which pierced the temple pavement; the linings of these shafts have been left in place and now stand up above the pavement like little towers.

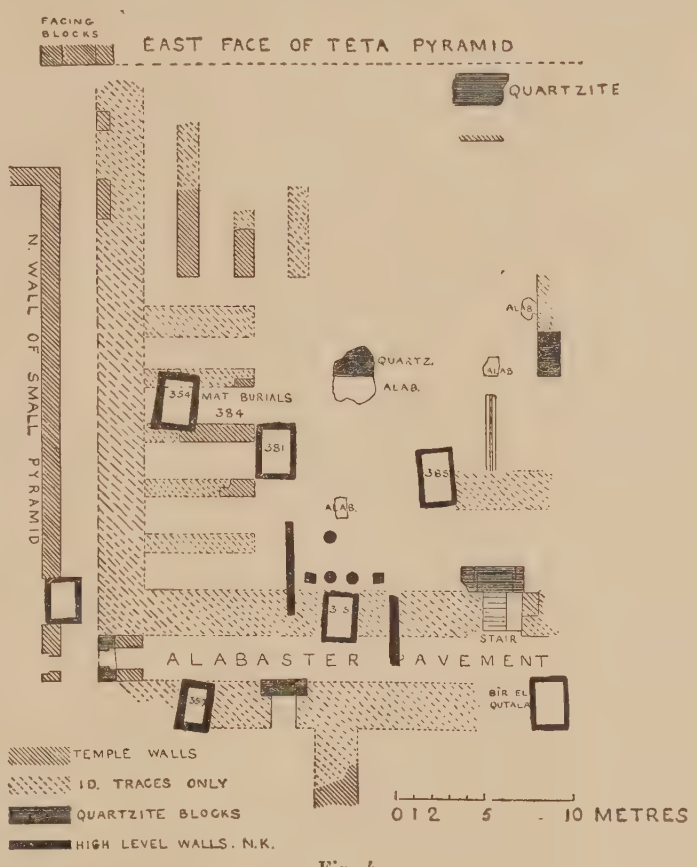


Fig. 4.

Low down on the left a channelled stone will be seen; it is part of a drain that ran below the pavement.

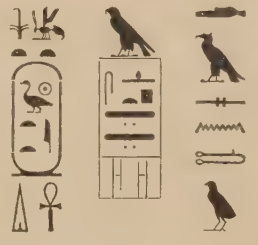
The lowest courses of three walls can be distinguished; near them are coffins of earthenware and wood, let down from higher levels. In the plan the temenos wall of the small pyramid is on the left; on the top is the east face of the Teta pyramid, determined at last by three blocks of the casing, found this year in position. The limestone walls of the temple, the quartzite blocks used as thresholds, and the walls and columns of the XIXth Dynasty chapel with the shafts connected with it are distinguished by different hatchings and by dead black. It will be noted that alabaster was used for the pavement of the central part of the temple.

Of the bas-reliefs very few pieces of any size were found, though single hieroglyphs and fragments of *khaker* ornament and stars from ceiling blocks were fairly common. The better blocks are shown in plate LIV; with them should be mentioned a fragment with the three semicircular signs seen behind the king dancing, another with the head of the goddess Satis, a third with offering-bearers.

Two granite door-jambs in the north-east quarter, near the Bîr el Qutala, bore the names of Teta incised. One is in fair preservation, a block 1 m. 85 cent. by 0 m. 90 cent. by 0 m. 80 cent. and gives one name of the king not hitherto known. It reads :

Near these was a small «brick» of alabaster 0 m. 035 mill. long, from a foundation deposit, at some height above the Old Kingdom floor.

The death-mask of the king (pl. LIV) was the most valuable single object found and, except for the head of a statue (pl. LVI) and the ceremonial maces, almost the only small monument left from the earliest period. One of the maceheads is of red and white breccia 0 m. 055 mill. high, pear-shaped and with its surface carved in lozenge-shaped knobs; it bears the inscription (⟶)



A fragment of another, found close by, was inscribed (⟶)

Both of these were shiny and darkened from being carried in mens' hands. Part of a third was found bearing again the *ka* name of Teta. Two of these maces were shown in plate V of the last report.

The monuments of later periods fall into the same classes as those distinguished in neighbouring ground last year, — (*a*) high, narrow coffins of XVIIIth Dynasty or earlier, (*b*) chapel and tomb-shafts of the XIXth Dynasty, (*c*) poor burials of the same period without coffins, wrapped in mats and (*d*) mummiform coffins of a later date, perhaps Saitic. Of the Coptic period little remained.

a. Only one coffin of the first class was found (n° 358) : it lay in the passage between the small pyramid and the temple. The body had been disturbed, but three gold rings of thin metal were found among the bones : they were of the well-known broken circle type (? ear-rings), broad and corrugated, the flutings running round the circle.

b. The XIXth Dynasty level could be easily traced over the site, and of one of the chapels the pavement, the bases of columns and one course of a side wall were seen.

The pavement was at about 2 m. 20 cent. above the temple floor; a block from the roof of the temple had been reused in it.

The mouths of the stone-lined shafts were at the same level as the floor of this chapel : four of them, all robbed in antiquity, were examined.

354. Shaft 2 m. 55 cent. by 1 m. 58 cent. in plan; long axis east and west. Depth 7 m. 20 cent. No chamber below. In the shaft the base of a bowl of blue frit of uncertain date.

359. Top of shaft at the same level as the last. Depth of shaft 9 metres. Two chambers below to west, one inside the other, both small with a low roof (0 m. 80 cent.).

360. Shaft cut through north wall of small pyramid yard. Depth 6 m. 80 cent. from foot of wall; original depth therefore about 9 metres. Two chambers below to west. Contained a wooden head-rest with fluted pillar and broad base.

381. Shaft filled with sand. Two chambers below to west. In the second the alabaster vase of plate LVII, 5, with the cartouche of Rameses II incised (pl. LVIII, 5). Two eyes of steatite once inlaid in the coffin, four pots (not given here) of New Empire types and part of a lower millstone of quartzite that had been used as a hone for bronze tools, formed, with a group of ushabtis, the remaining furniture of the tomb. The ushabtis, 75 in number, were of green glaze inscribed in ink with the name or .

The two stelæ of plate LVII, 4, doubtless came from one of the chapels above these shafts.

c. A certain number of poor burials were found wrapped in mats, generally at a slightly lower level than the mummiform coffins.

358. West of shaft 354 was a body wrapped in a mat (pl. LVIII, 2); it lay north and south on a slope and below a wooden coffin (358 *a*) and had evidently been moved in antiquity. The arms lay at length over the body, the hands together. The bones were very strong and well preserved. The objects found with the body, one of them a very complete draught-board, are shown in plates LVIII and LIX. The date is in the reign of Sety Ist.

383. 1. Mat of black twigs. Head south. A male. Arms lay by sides.
2. Head south. Age 19 to 21.
3. Wrapped in date-palm matting. Head south.
4. A child. Head north.
5. Wrapped in a mat of grass. Head north.
6. Mat of *gerîd* (midrib of palmleaf) with ties of grass rope. Much cloth remains. Head north.
8. The body was cut off at the knees by the wall of a shaft of the XIXth Dynasty (354).
9. Man with a stick decorated with inlaid bark. Head north.
10. Gerîd mat. Head west.

d. A series of poor burials in mummiform coffins, evidently of a late period, were found, laid in unlined graves; nothing was seen of the superstructures, if indeed they ever existed.

365. Four coffins east of a XIXth Dynasty shaft (354) and lying at about the level of the top of it, later therefore in date than the XIXth Dynasty : the heads in all cases were to the west.

1. Red pottery coffin. Body tightly wrapped.

2. Anthropoid coffin of wood, painted black with figures in white, the face green. Although the body formed a neatly wrapped package there was great disorder in the bones; the three bones of the pelvic girdle were at the level of the chest and separated one from the other.

3. A child, in plain coffin of tapering, oblong shape. Fayence eye tied in a lock of hair on the forehead. A lot of minute blue beads in the centre of the body and below the feet.

4. Mummiform wood coffin; face of mud. Wrappings had disappeared. No *Beigaben*.

5. Crossed bandages; mass of yellow salt in mouth.

The following interments belong to the same class.

374. A poor burial near the Bir el-Qutala (plan p. 19) and at about the level of the pavement over that shaft. There are two coffins; the outer one is mummiform, of thin boards; the sides of the wig painted blue, made of wood thickly covered with clay; a necklace of elaborate lotus bud pattern is painted on the coffin, below that the wood is yellow; there is a vertical column of inscription but no name. The inner coffin is similar, the painting a little ruder, the wig lapels this time green.

The bones lie loose inside a thick shell of black decayed wrappings. On the clavicle a stain of silver; near the neck some beads, an eye and two drop-shaped earrings, all of silver.

384. Another group of these coffins. The lids were only just below the level of the XIXth Dynasty pavement and there were no paving-stones left above them.

1. Mummiform coffin of stout wood, plain. On the lid in faint black a column of inscription ending The face of clay. The wrappings came off in a pad, leaving the bones clean below; they were exceptionally wellpreserved and strong. A red powder was noticed near the fingers, probably resin. Hair remains on the chin. Arms at length; hands together in front. On the back of the coffin in black line a figure of Amentet, above her head, a stand below her feet.

2. Coffin with face of mud, painted a bluish pink, a colour rather characteristic of these poor late coffins, the wig painted in black and yellow stripes. On the chest a necklace roughly painted. Down the centre a column of text in black on yellow background; feet destroyed, no name; coffin empty.

3. Same type of coffin; face bluish pink; wig with red, blue and white stripes.

4. Similar but in poorer condition.

5. Poor coffin, ground colour white. Face of mud, bluish pink. Wig black and yellow. Four genii below the necklace. A column of text but no name.

6. Child's coffin. Face of mud, not painted.

7. Another child. Coffin painted white; face of mud. Head west. An eye of fayence near the head.

8. An adult. Face and wig of coffin painted white; the chest and the column over the legs also white, but unfinished; the necklace was not painted nor was the column of text written. Wrappings of blackened cloth. Traces of the white ant.

9. Mummiform coffin with face of mud lies close to the wall of the XIXth Dynasty chapel at about the ground level of that period.

391. Mummiform coffin of wood made of small pieces with clay liberally used as luting and to round corners. Face of wood, very rude. Three similar coffins were close by, all lying with their heads to the west.

MASTABAS.

While the excavation of the monastery was proceeding a search was also carried on for mastabas suitable for sale to certain museums which had applied for them. It should be explained that the mastabas of Saqqara have in the past suffered severely from the depredations of dealers who bribed or terrorised our guards, dug out a tomb by night and sold what blocks they could get away to the agents of the great museums, often at high prices. If there were no sale for these reliefs there would be no illicit digging with all the destruction that the process entails. It was decided therefore, some years ago, to offer complete mastaba chambers at a low price to the principal European and American museums, in the hope that afterwards an appeal might be made with good hope of success to the authorities of these museums to help in the protection of the monuments by refusing to buy detached blocks obviously stolen from important tombs. This

policy has now been followed for several years and a series of good complete tomb-chambers have been sent away.

Several more were needed this year. To find them was a task that demanded time; many tombs must be cleared before one is found which in the quality and variety of the scenes depicted, the size of the blocks, and in their freedom from salt has all the virtues required. It has thus happened that we have had rapidly to uncover a whole series of tombs, most of them already known and described in Mariette, *Mastabas*, and to make plans and photographs, so far as this was possible. It was not possible to dig or plan them completely for neither money nor time sufficed to dig all round the tombs; we could only search for the chamber and the serdab. The area examined this year was the long strip between the north temenos wall of the Step Pyramid and the sandy hollow, probably an ancient road, to the north of it. A few tombs outside this area were also pointed out to me by an old workman whose long acquaintance with this cemetery dates from the time when he worked as a basket boy under Mariette. A plan of the work was prepared, on a scale of 1/100; it forms a long ribbon, not very useful in its present state nor convenient for printing, and is held over until the features north and south can be filled in.

Of two at least of the tombs detailed accounts with illustrations must at some time be published; the following short record is intended to show what tombs have been observed and fixed on the plan. The numbers in the 900's are references to our field-notes.

901. Mariette, *Mastabas*, D, 1. .

902. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 60-64 *bis*. .

Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Ergänzungsband, I, p. 165.

Champollion, *Notices*, II, p. 485-486.

A long narrow corridor runs north from the north-east chamber in the plan in Lepsius and from it open the serdab and another chamber. This corridor is roofed but seems to be the passage between the tomb of Rashepses and another tomb to the east. The walls are covered with scenes in painted relief; the sculpture is rough but the painting is exceptionally well preserved and some of the scenes are well worthy of reproduction in colours; a flax harvest, a pottery kiln, a scene of inspection of linen and a group of animals including a stag are especially noteworthy.

The serdab had been robbed in antiquity but the fine portrait head of wood (pl. LX) had been left, as well as part of the base of a limestone statue bearing the incised inscription , some fragments of wooden models and a tablet of wood which must have been held by a seated scribe.

In the corridor low down, lying closely packed on a sloping bank of sand were a lot (12 or more) of poor bodies wrapped in mats; on the finger of one of them was a scarab of XIXth Dynasty type and above them, lying loose in the sand, were the following objects: 1° a headrest with ivory studs and tenon, the stem fluted; 2° the handle of a *sotep* with bronze hoof; 3° two leather-bound fragments of staffs and 4° two coarse wooden ushabtis. These bodies were at a level below the base of the painted scenes and so had not been disturbed by previous visitors. For visitors

there have been; the corridor has been long known and was shown last to the Empress Eugénie in 1869.

To the south-east of the tomb was an open court entered by a door in the north-east corner, and on the two sides of this doorway two copies of the rescript of Assa (pl. LXI, 2, and p. 79) had been engraved.

903. Mariette, *Mastabas*, D. 3 : .

This tomb was this year taken down and sold to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

904. A rough stela of local stone with a cartouche of .

905. Mariette, *Mastabas*, D. 2 : .

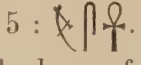
The tomb has suffered since Mariette's day; the east wall has disappeared.

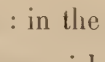
906. .

A small tomb chamber, 4 m. 50 cent. by 1 m. 10 cent., with two stelæ, the north one of masonry and in poor condition, built of local stone; the south one a single block of Toura stone (pl. LXI, 1).

907. Mariette, *Mastabas*, D. 6 : .

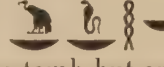
The north wall has now disappeared.

908. Mariette, *Mastabas*, D. 5 :  .

The stela has suffered with the lapse of time and much of the inscription copied by Mariette has disappeared. On the south wall are parts of two registers, not noted in Mariette *Mastabas*, painted on plaster : in the upper one are four seated girls, singing; between them are two harpers, the word  above each : in the lower are seven dancing girls, their hands raised above their heads; to the right are three girls clapping their hands. The horizontal lines drawn in red to guide the draughtsman have been left. The distances of these lines measured in centimetres from the top are given below :

Top of head	0
Lower line of hair on forehead	10
Base of neck	40
Below shoulder	58
Navel	103
Below hips	148

The lower part of the bodies has disappeared.

909.  .

Of this tomb but one block remained; it was from the gateway and represents the lady seated, with her name in large characters in front of her. The wife of Rashepses bore this name.

910. Mariette, *Mastabas*, D. 8 : .

Stela now in very poor condition; it would hardly be possible to copy all that Mariette has made out.

911.

A long (4 m. 20 cent. +) and narrow (0 m. 75 cent.) chamber with, formerly, two stelæ. The north one, of good limestone, is lost; a few fragments show the material of which it was made. The south one, built of blocks of local stone, bears on the drum the name (?).

912.

Chamber containing a lintel of white limestone with the inscription .

913. .

This is a new tomb. The main chamber, 3 m. 76 cent. by 1 m. 25 cent., is in rather good preservation. The colour is exceptionally bright, the roof is complete; only on the south side have a few blocks been displaced and they are probably all left in the tomb. But a great deal of salt has exuded and crystallised on the surface of the stones and many blocks have been cracked by the great pressure above, for the tomb now lies under a great heap of chips thrown out at some time in antiquity from the temenos of the Step Pyramid. The stela is in good preservation. The scenes consist entirely of bearers of offerings, slaughter of oxen and pictures of food and menus, with good vases and flowers: they contain no scenes of manufactures or hunting. Some photographic copies were taken but it would not be safe to stay long enough in the tomb to make water-colours; the pressure must first be removed from the roof and the walls strengthened, or else the whole structure be taken down and set up again in a museum.

There is another chamber to the north serving as an entrance, with scenes in line only.

The serdab too was found; in it were fragments of the covering of lifesize statues, made of wood and thickly coated with plaster.

915. and .

An oblong chamber; its west wall of good white limestone, with scenes in relief, the three other walls of local marly stone with the scenes only painted, well-drawn but in a bold and sketchy style. The west wall has been sold to the Metropolitan Museum of New York. The three other walls, which must suffer a good deal each time they are exposed to the air, were copied before they were again filled in (pl. LXII-LXVI).

North side. — Scene of matmaking, pl. LXVI, 2. Above, not worth copying, traces of men and bulls.

East side, north of door. — Fishing scene, pl. LXII, 1. Above this a stretch of water and on it a papyrus boat with feet of large figure which must have faced south. Near the door another figure, just distinguishable, faced north. Between the two water and fishes.

East side, south of door. — Donkeys, harvest scenes, pl. LXII, 2. Above the part copied were the feet of a large figure and behind it a dog.

Doorway, north side. — Below vases, tables, offerings; above, men dragging a statue, all much defaced.

Doorway, south side. — *Lower register.* Statue in a shrine. Figure offering incense. A . An offering bearer.

Upper register. Two bulls and six men dragging statue, one pouring water.

The lower register is in red outline only; the upper in colour.

South end of chamber. — *Upper register.* Musicians (pl. LXVI, 1).

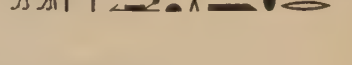
Lower register. Two men carrying offerings of fruit; feet of a third figure.

West side. — Beginning at the south end we have :

1. Offering bearers (pl. LXVI, 3). The work is in relief.
2. Stela of the man (pl. LXIII).
3. Scenes of music and draught playing (pl. LXIV).
4. Stela of the man and his wife (pl. LXV).
5. Offering bearers again (pl. LXVI, 4). Painted only.

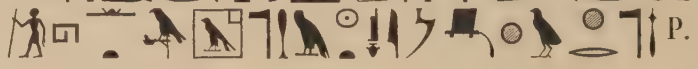
916. .

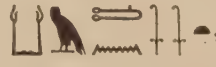
A stela only, 2 m. 60 cent. by 1 m. 40 cent., of marly limestone, forms the west wall of a recess.

Above, the man sits before a table; below him is the line : (⟶)  .

On the drum is the name : .

On the inner jambs : P.

On the outer jambs :  P.

919.  , Mariette, *Mastabas*, D. 7.

The inscriptions mentioned in Mariette *Mastabas*, p. 188, have been recovered. Photographs on plate LXI, 3, 4, 5. Copies and commentary by Spiegelberg, p. 82.

920.

A tomb close to the tomb of Thy, not therefore in the same line with the rest. It is almost entirely destroyed. The lower courses remain of a long chamber which contained the stelæ; there is also a square entrance chamber, the walls of which were once covered with excellent reliefs. But the blocks were evidently of too fine a quality of stone and had been early quarried away; only the lowest course had been spared, and this for the reason that the blocks were so massive (1 m. 25 cent. high and 0 m. 55 cent. thick) and so firmly held in place by the stones of the pavement that they were very difficult to remove. Of the reliefs there remained two ships, geese, cranes, hornless cows, a boat going to market, vasemaking. The last scene has been published in the *Musée égyptien*, t. III, 1er fasc.

The name of the owner of the tomb was not found.

THE
COPTIC INSCRIPTIONS

BY SIR HERBERT THOMPSON.

The inscriptions have been arranged as follows :

A. Inscriptions cut in stone or wood (nos 1-88), divided into two sections :

a. Those which are reproduced in the plates, arranged in the order of the plate numbers;

b. Those which are not so reproduced and which are arranged according to the number given to the room in which there were found.

B. Inscriptions in paint or ink and graffiti in two sections similar to the foregoing (nos 89-157).

C. Ostraca (nos 158-168).

A. — INSCRIPTIONS CUT IN STONE OR WOOD.

1. Inscription on wall incised and painted red, from room 773 (pl. XIII, 1). — Later a cross was nailed over part of the inscription.

ⲓⲥⲓⲝ ⲡⲭⲓⲥ
ⲧⲉⲙⲁ ⲩⲙⲁ
ⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲙ
ⲁ ⲥⲓⲃ ⲁⲉ ⲱ
ⲡⲁⲥⲟ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ
✝ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙ
ⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱ
ⲝ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲗⲉⲝ/
ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲙⲁⲧⲣ
ⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛ
ⲏⲥ ⲙⲉ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ
ⲛⲉⲫⲱⲏⲣⲉ

Jesus... the Christ (l. ⲭⲣⲥ), our (?) mother Mary, Ama Sibylla ...; my brother Apa ✝ Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Alex(ander)[1] the archimandrite; John and (l. ⲙⲉⲛ) George his sons.

Apparently two commemorations, the first consisting of the five upper lines commemorating a monk Apa... whose name is lost. Later a metal cross was nailed over this, and another invocation to Saints Jeremias and Enoch added in favour of Alexander the archimandrite and abbot of the monastery, and his (spiritual) sons John and George, whom we know from n° 150 to have been the priors of the monastery under him.

[1] The name is written out in full in n° 150. He is no doubt the same as the «holy Alexander» of n° 5 and his name occurs on a stela at Cairo (*Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 94; Murray, *Saqqara Mast.*, pl. XXXVI).

2. Limestone block (pl. XIV, 2).

ⲡⲁⲥⲛ ⲁⲡⲁⲟ ⲡⲱⲉⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ
ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲙⲁ
ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲓ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲗⲉ̄ϫ
ⲡⲉⲣϥⲧⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲓ

1. ⲡⲁⲥⲛ, l. ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ. — 4. ⲡⲉⲣϥⲧ, l. ⲡⲣⲉϥⲁ.

My brother[1] Apollo[2] the son of my brother Abraham, the father of the infirmary[3], our brother Alex(ander)[4], the attendant.

3. Limestone stela (pl. XV, 4, right).

ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣ[ⲉ
ⲡⲉⲡ[ⲛ]ⲁ ⲉ[ⲧⲟⲩⲁ
ⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲁⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱϫ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲱⲣ ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁϥⲙ̄
ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛ̄
ⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch; Apa Or, their son[5], went to his rest on the day on the day (*sic*)[6].

4. Limestone block (pl. XXXI, 6).

ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ : ✣ ⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲁⲥ : ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ : ⲙⲁⲑⲑⲉⲟⲥ : ✣ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲃⲟⲥ (*sic*) ✣ ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲥ : ✣ ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛⲡⲕ̄ ✣ ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ : ✣

Thomas : ✣ Andrew : Peter : Matthew : ✣ James ✣ Jude : ✣ Simon the K(ananaean) ✣ (the) Saviour ✣.

A list of names of apostles carved over the niches where their figures stood. The figures have been chiselled out.

The arrangement is curious, as the block is complete on the left hand and incomplete on the right, and it might have been expected that the Saviour would be in the centre, which with seven on one side he cannot have been.

Further, the order of the names seems capricious and is at variance with all known lists

[1] This was the common title for a monk and the possessive pronoun «my» has no personal meaning. ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ merely =*frater*. The abbreviated form ⲡⲁⲥⲛ is unusual (cf. *Bull. Inst. fr.*, V, p. 16).

[2] The short form ⲁⲡⲁⲟ (ⲁⲡⲁⲱ) is frequent.

[3] Lit. place of the sick (*M. A. F.*, IV, p. 283; cf. Lemm, *Kopt. Misc.*, n° L, p. 1088; Crum, *Copt. Mon.*, n° 8499).

[4] For this abbreviation, cf. n° 140; Crum, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, n° 386 and ⲁⲗⲉ̄ϫ in n°s 6 and 7 of the *Passports* (Revillout, *Actes et Contrats*, p. 105-106).

[5] *i. e.* the spiritual son of the saints invoked, as so frequently on Coptic stelæ.

[6] Possibly for ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩ «on the sixth day (of the month)».

(Schermann, *Propheten und Apostellegenden, T. U.*, xxxi, p. 198-239). Lists of the Apostles' names are also found at Abydos (Bouriant, *M. A. F.*, I, p. 383-384; Murray, *Osireion*, p. 39).

5. Limestone blocks (pl. XXXVI, 1). — Three blocks, parts of a cornice.

ⲁ]ⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲑⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗⲗⲁ
ⲫⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲉⲝⲁⲛⲇⲣⲟⲥ

Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, O holy Mary, our[1] mother Sibylla, O holy Alexander[2].

6. Limestone block (pl. XXXVI, 7).

... ⲏⲕⲑⲏⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲥ ⲫⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲓⲉⲣⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲫⲁⲙ

At side :

ⲡⲁⲡⲁⲕⲓⲣⲉ
ⲫⲙⲱⲉ

....[3] *papa* George..[4] the deacon Jeremias the carpenter(?)... (at side) «*papa* Kire, the carpenter(?)[5]».

Plate XXXVI, 8; see n° 69.

7. Limestone. Fragment of niche (pl. XXXVII, 3).

ⲑ
ⲍⲛⲉⲙⲱⲉⲓⲣ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲍⲉⲣⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲯⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ

.... of Mecheir, Apa Hermine[6], the brother (of?) Apa ...

8. Limestone. Fragment of niche (pl. XXXVII, 4).

... ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ[ⲥ]ⲟⲩⲕⲑ ⲛⲉⲙⲱⲉⲓⲣ ⲭⲙ[ⲅ]
... ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲱⲛⲏ ⲁⲩⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ[ⲟ]ⲩ.

2. ⲛⲏ ligatured.

... went to his rest on the 29th[7] day of Mechir. ⲭⲙⲅ[8].
... Papnoute, the gardener, went to his rest...

(1) I take ⲧⲉⲙⲁⲁⲩ to be a way of writing ⲧ̄ⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ, and not ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ.
(2) Called Alexander the archimandrite in n°s 1, 150.
(3) Possibly *καθηγητής*.
(4) Perhaps abbreviation for ⲫⲁⲙⲱⲉ «the carpenter».
(5) The third letter of this word is more like a ϧ than ⲱ.
(6) The name is not common. Cf. Abû Sâlih, ed. Evetts, p. 211, note; *Journ. Theol. St.*, V, p. 566.
(7) Or 25th.
(8) For this much discussed symbol see Smirnoff, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1906, p. 1082; Hall, *Greek and Coptic Texts*, p. 2; Lefebvre, *Rec. des inscr. grecques-chrétiennes*, p. xxxii, etc.

9. Limestone block (pl. XXXVIII, 4). — A stand for water jars.

ΠΑϹ ϵΝΩ
ΟΝ Κ Χ ΚΟΥ
ϵΩ Ι Πϵ
ΟϹ Ϥ ϹΟ
ΟΥΙ Ν

My brother George the Less : Enoch the Less his brother.

10. Limestone stela from room 751 (pl. XLIV, 1, left).

Α ✠ Α/ΙϹ ✠ Ω/ΧΡ ✠ Ω
✠ ΠΝΟΥΤϵ ϵΝΝϵΠ̄Ν ΑΥΩ
ΠΧΟϵΙϹ ΝϹΑΡϵ̈ ΝΙΜ ΠΩϵ
ΝϩΤΗϤ ϵΝΑΗΤ ΝϩΑΡϵΩ
ϩΗΤ ϵΝΑΩϵΠϵϤΝΑ
ΑΡΙΟΥΝΟϭϵΝΝΑ ΜϵΝ
ΤϵϮΥΧΗ ΜΠΜΑΚΑ
ΡΙΟϹ ϵΝΩΧ Π̄Ν̄Ο̄ ΠΩΗΡϵ
ΝΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟϹ ϕΟΙΒΑΜΜ/
Π̄Ν̄Ο̄ ΝΤΑΒϵΜΤΟΝ ϵΜΟϤ
ΝΠΟΟΥ ΠΑΙ ϵΠΙϕΗ
ΚΥ ΙΝΑ/ϵΤΟΥϹ ΡΟΑ

ΑΠΟ ΑΙΟΚ/ ϕ ϵΡϵΠΧΟ
ϵΙϹ ΩϵΝΑϩΤΗϤ ϩΑΡΟϤ
ΝΒΤΙϵΜΤΟΝ ΝΑΒ̣ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ
ϵΤΝΑΩΩ̣ ϵΝΙϹϩΑΙ ϵΒϵϵΡ
ΠϵϤΜϵϵΥ]ϵΤϵΠΝΟΥΤϵ
ϵΡΠϵΒΜϵϵΥϵ ϩΩϤ ϩΝΠ
ϵΒΒΗΜΑ ΝϩΟΤϵ ΩΑϵ
Νϵϩ ϩΑΜΗΝ Ϥ̄Θ̄

Α | Ω
Ī Ϲ | Χ̄ Ρ̄ Ϲ̄

ϵΝΩΧ ΥΙΟϹ ΝΙΩΤϵΡΩΥ

11. The ΟΥ of ϵΤΟΥϹ ligatured.

O God of spirits and Lord of all flesh[1], O compassionate, merciful and long-suffering (one), whose mercy is great, have great mercy on the soul of the blessed Enoch, the clerk[2], the son of the blessed Phoebammon, the clerk, who went to his rest on this day....[3] Epiphi 23 in the ... indiction, in the year 171[4], from Diocletian 503(?)[5]. May[6] the Lord have compassion on him and give him rest. Every one who shall read

[1] Numb. XVI 22, XXVII 16, cf. I *Clem. ad Cor.*, c. 64. Other instances on gravestones, *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 80, 87; Hall, *Greek and Coptic Texts*, p. 3, 7.

[2] Νοτάριος, *notarius*, *i. e.* the secretary of the abbot (Leipoldt, *Schenute*, p. 135).

[3] There are here two signs which I cannot interpret. At a similar point of the inscription n° 11 (l. 8) are also two signs of which the first seems to be the same as here while the second differs. The sense would seem to require either (1) something equivalent to the ἥτις ἐστὶν of similar Greek inscriptions (Crum, *Coptic Monuments*, n°s 8331, 8548), of which the Coptic equivalent would be ϵΤϵ....Πϵ or (2) ἐν μηνί. Possibly it may be the day of the week as in Lefebvre, *Rec. des inscr. grecques-chrétiennes*, n° 663; but if so, I cannot read it.

[4] Of the Hegira = A. D. 787 June 22 — 788 June 10.

[5] As Epiphi 23 = July 17 the single missing cipher from the date must be 3 (503 + 284 = 787) and that year was the 10th of the indiction (or, in Egypt perhaps the 11th, cf. *Bull. Inst. franç.*, VI, p. 109).

[6] This optative use of the Praes. II, which is left unnoticed by Stern and Steindorff is frequent in the Bible (I *Reg.*, XX, 13; XXV, 23; II *Reg.*, III, 9, 29, 35; *Job*, XVI, 6; *Sap.*, VII, 15, etc.).

this inscription shall [remember him and][1] God shall remember him also at his fearful judgement seat for ever. Amen. Amen[2].

Enoch son of Nishteroou[3].

11. Limestone stela from room 751 (pl. XLIV, 1, right).

```
....ⲡⲱⲁⲛ]ⲁⲥⲧⲏⲩ
ⲛⲛⲁⲏⲧ ⲛⲥⲁⲣⲉⲱⲥⲏⲧ
ⲛⲁⲱⲉⲡⲉⲩⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩ
ⲛⲟⲟ ⲛⲛⲁ ⲙⲛⲧⲉ☩ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲛⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲑ
ⲉⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲛⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲟ̄ ⲛⲧⲁⲃⲙⲧⲟⲛ
ⲛⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓ  ⲁ(?)
ⲑⲱ̿ⲥ ⲓⲛⲁ/ⲓⲑ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ(ⲥ) ⲣⲩ ⲁⲡⲟ ⲁⲓⲟⲕ/
ⲫⲕⲅ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲱⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧ
ⲏⲃ ⲥⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲩⲧⲓⲉⲙⲧⲟ[ⲛ]
ⲛⲁⲩ ⲥⲛⲕⲟⲛⲩ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲙ ⸗ ⲓⲥⲁⲕ
⸗ ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲛⲃⲧⲣⲉⲃⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲛⲧⲉⲕ
ⲁⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲱⲉⲣⲡⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲛ
ⲁⲱⲱ ⲛⲓⲥⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲉⲉⲣⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ
ⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲡⲉⲃⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲥⲱⲩ ⲥⲛ
ⲡⲉⲃⲃⲏⲙⲁ ⲛⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉⲥ ⲥⲁ
ⲙⲏⲛ ⲩ̄ⲑ̄ ✣✣✣
```

9. ⲉⲧⲟⲩ written with ⲉⲧ below and ⲟⲩ above, both ligatured.

There are probably two lines missing at the top, cf. n° 10.

..... compassionate, merciful, long-suffering, great is his mercy : have great mercy on the soul of the blessed Philotheos, son of the blessed Apa Kyre, the clerk, who went to his rest on this day.....[4], Thoth 16th(?), in the 15th(?) indiction[5], in the year 190[6], from Diocletian 523[7]. May the Lord have compassion on him and give him rest in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob[8], and cause him to be in the assembly of the first-born[9]. Every one who shall read this inscription shall make remembrance of him and God shall remember him also at his fearful judgement seat for ever. Amen. Amen.

[1] Restored from n° 11.

[2] ⲩⲑ = 99 = ἀμήν by numerical summation of the letters, *A. Z.*, XXIV, p. 102.

[3] Cf. M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, part I, 1905, p. 29 (also Biondi, *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 94). ⲛⲓⲱⲧⲉⲣⲟⲟ[ⲩ] is regarded by Mr. Crum as probably a Middle-Egyptian variant of ⲛⲓⲱⲥⲣⲱⲟⲩ (Z. 366). I should be inclined rather to see in the latter a corruption of the former. Crum quotes a late Greek form *νισ7ερῶος* from Migne. It is a common name in Ptolemaic times under the earlier form *νεχθερωος* (Mahaffy-Smyly, *Petrie Pap.*, III) and still earlier *νεχθ☩αρους* = *nḫt-f erw* «He (*i. e.* Horus) is mightier than they (*i. e.* his enemies)». Cf. Hess, *Rosetta*, p. 47 and Spiegelberg, *Rec. trav.*, XXVIII, p. 183.

[4] Cf. note 2, above.

[5] The reading appears to be «19th indiction», but as the indiction was a cycle of 15 years, this is impossible (save in the exceptional case, *Pap. Lille*, p. 108; cf. Wilcken, in *Archiv Papyrusforsch.*, II, p. 135). Hence we must assume an error on the part of the stonemason, probably for ⲓⲉ as A. D. 807 was the 15th year of the indiction.

[6] Of the Hegira = A. D. Nov. 27. 805 — Nov. 16. 806.

[7] A. D. 807 (Aug. 29) — 808 (Aug. 28). The 21st Thoth was therefore Sep. 18. 806 or 807, as the two reckonings do not agree.

[8] A common phrase; cf. *Ann. Serv.*, IV, p. 163; VII, p. 80; Hall, *Greek and Coptic Texts*, p. 3, 8; *A. Z.*, XLIV, p. 72; Lefebvre, *Inscr. grecques-chrétiennes*, n°s 48, 67, etc. The symbol between the names is often used = *καί* (here ⲙ̄ⲛ̄) in MSS of the Byzantine period, and cf. Lefebvre, *l. l.*, n°s 69, 641-642.

[9] *Hebr.*, XII, 23.

12. Limestone stela (pl. XLIV, 2).

[✝ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲱⲏ]ⲣⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
[ⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓ]ⲏⲗ ⲑⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ
[ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱ]ⲭ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲁ
.... ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏ]ⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲯⲩⲭⲏ
5]ⲡⲛⲟ̄ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟϥ
]ⲇⲓⲟⲕ/ ⲩ̄ⲍ̄ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ

[O Father and the So]n and the Holy Ghost [Michael(?) Gabri]el, O holy Mary, Apa [Jeremias, Apa Eno]ch, Ama Sibylla, *papa*...., all [the Saints] : have mercy on the soul [of the blessed(?)....], the clerk, who went to his rest....., from] Diocletian 467 [1]. Amen.

13. Limestone block (pl. XLIV, 3).

... ⲉ]ⲛⲱⲭ ⲙ[ⲉ]ⲛⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲉ
... .ⲙⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲧⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲛⲓⲥ
... ⲅⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲣⲱϩ
... ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲗⲱ ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ
5 ... ϯⲁϩ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲗⲁ̈ϩⲟ
... ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲉ ⲡⲱ
... ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕ̄/ ϕⲟⲓⲱ ⲡⲉⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉⲩⲟ✝
... ⲉⲡⲁϕⲓ ⲙⲏⲛⲓ̄ ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲣⲏ ⲉ ⲓⲛⲇ/
... ϯⲁϩ ϕⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ

7. l. ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲉⲩⲥ.

.... [E]noch and(?) Jeremias who load the(?)
... and Apa Termoute [2] who load the timber(?) [3]
... Gamoul and Jeremias, the foddersellers(?) [4]
... our brother Apollo who belongs to the refectory [5]
the teacher Jeremias the mason [6]
.... our brother the deacon Apa Kyre the son(?)
.... the deacon Phoish the copyist ✝
.... *epaphi* [7] in the month of Mesore 5th indiction
.... the teacher Phoebammon the clerk.

[1] A. D. 751-752.

[2] Termoute is properly a woman's name and probably stands here for ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ by a frequent confusion of the last letter of the title ⲁⲡⲁ with the initial ones of the name; cf. Hall, *Texts*, p. 145 and e. g. ⲁⲡⲁϕⲱⲙ for ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁϕⲱⲙ, Amélineau, *Musée Guimet*, XVII, p. 58.

[3] The usual meaning of ⲧⲁⲗⲟ is to load goods on an animal or ship — hence perhaps «remove»; cf. Crum, *Ostraca*, Ad. 22, p. 61.

ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲛⲓⲥ for ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲛⲓⲥ(?). This word in Coptic use seems to have only two possible meanings : *a* «a plank of timber» as in the *Song of Songs*, VIII, 9 (sah.); *Acts*, XXVII, 44 (boh.), or *b* «writing tablet» as in Triadon, 506. But I know no authority Coptic or Greek for using the word in the singular in the sense of sawn timber.

[4] Cf. Peyron, *Lex.*, ⲃⲁⲣⲟϩ, and Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, n°s 529, 587, 1171.

[5] Cf. n°s 64, 116, 123.

[6] l. ⲡⲗⲁ̈ϩⲟⲥ = λάξος, a form frequent in the Greek papyri; e. g. P. Tebt., n° 278; cf. n° 107 and Hall, *Greek and Coptic Texts*, p. 132.

[7] I do not know what this word means.

14. Limestone slab, from room 773 (pl. XLIV, 4).

ⲡⲁⲓⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛ̄
ϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲁ
☩ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ☩

Below between the arms of an ornamental cross ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ – ⲁ ⲱ.

This is the seat of Apa Jeremias.

From the careful and ornamental nature of the work, this probably does record the place where the Founder of the monastery used to sit.

15. Limestone (pl. XLV, 1). — Three fragments of inscriptions in high relief.

1 .... ⲡ]ⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲡⲥ ⲛⲉⲛ[ⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ
]ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲉⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲡ[
2 ....]ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲕⲏⲥ[
.. ⲁⲣⲭ]ⲓⲙⲁⲇⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲁ[
3 ... ⲏⲑ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲁⲑⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲱϩⲉ ⲛⲉⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲙ...
ⲉ]ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲣⲭ[

1. .... prophet(s), our fathers.... the prior....
2. .... patriarch..... [arch]imandrite A[pa(?)]...
3. .... [S]eth, our father Methusala, our father Noah, the fathers....
.... bishop(s), all the Saints, Apa Antonius the [1]. ...

16. Limestone slab (pl. XLV, 2).

☩ ⲡⲁⲓⲡⲉ ⲡⲙⲁⲛϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ
ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲁϩⲧ ⲯⲁϩ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲉ
ⲡⲣⲁϩⲧ// ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ϥⲑ

This is the seat of the fullers : the teacher Paul, the fuller : Jesus the Christ. Amen.

17. Limestone block, from room 722 (pl. XLV, 3) (above). — Cut along three sides *backwards*.

☩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲟ ⲁ
ⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏ
ⲗ
Apa Enoch, the holy Michael.

For inscriptions written in a reverse direction, cf. Lefebvre, *Rec. des inscr. gr.-chr.*, nos 704, 754, 803.

[1] Perhaps ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲓⲥⲩⲛⲱⲇⲓⲁ «Founder of the communities» as he is styled in Tuk, *Pontificale*, p. 219-220.

18. Limestone block (pl. XLV, 3) (below). — Inscribed along two sides.

ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch.

19. Limestone block, from room 1706 (pl. XLV, 4) (top). — Carved on two sides.

In relief :

a. ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲛⲉϫ

Incised :

b. ⲕⲩⲣⲁⲕⲟⲥⲙ...
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ

a. The father (?) of...
b. Cyricus.. (?)... Peter the Less.

20. Limestone, two blocks from room (?) (pl. XLV, 4) (below). — Incised on the edge.

a. ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
b. ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲙⲁⲛⲧⲣ/

....Son, O Holy Spirit ...Apa Jeremias archimandrite.

21. Limestone stela, fragment (pl. XLV, 5) (above).

...ⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉ....
.....ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲓϫ...
.....ⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲧ...
....ⲁ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ...
...ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲱⲟⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϥ .
....ⲙⲡⲁⲱⲟⲛⲥ ϥ̄ⲑ...
....ⲙⲟϥ(?) ...
.....

[O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit], Apa Je[remias....], Apa Mich[ael ..... our] fathers the pat[riarchs ..... Ap]a Papnoute ..... my brother Shoi who [went to his rest on the — day] of Pashons. Amen[1].

22. Limestone stela (pl. XLV, 5) (below left).

☩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱ[ⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲁⲃ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲣⲓ
ⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲙⲉⲧⲉϥ
ⲏⲭⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ
ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲧ
.....

[1] Cf. n° 10 (p. 31, note 1). The fragment of the lowest line indicates that a second person was commemorated on the same stela.

5. The stone mason seems first to have cut the middle stroke of ⲛ the wrong way and then corrected it.
ⲙⲉⲧⲉϥ, l. ⲙⲛⲧⲉϥ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch : have mercy on the soul of my brother Jeremias who [went to his rest .....].

23. Limestone stela (pl. XLV, 5) (below right).

ϯ ⲡⲱⲧ ⲡⲱ(?)...
ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ...
ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁ...
ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲩⲃ...
ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ...
ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ...

1. ⲡⲱⲧ, l. ⲡⲓⲱⲧ.

O Father, O Son, O [Holy] Spirit, our mother Ma[ry]..., our mother Sib[ylla] ..., our father Apa....., our father Apa.....

24. Limestone block (pl. XLV, 6) (above).

ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲕ/ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ

...The Holy [Spirit] ..... the deacon George.

25. Limestone block (pl. XLV, 6) (below).

A ⲡϣⲁϩ
ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ
The teacher, George.

The large A probably corresponded to an ⲱ on the missing half of the stone. For ⲡϣⲁϩ, cf. *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 87, ⲡϣⲁⲛⲁⲁⲣⲓⲛ; *ibid.*, p. 89, ⲧⲉⲡϣⲓⲭⲏ.

26. Limestone block (pl. XLVI, 1).

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ϯ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉ[ⲛ]ⲱⲭ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲙⲃⲣⲟ
ⲥⲓⲟⲥ : ⲁⲡⲁ
ϩⲱⲣ : ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲡⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲩ
ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ// ⲭⲙⲅ
ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ// ϯ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲁⲧⲉ
ⲧⲛⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲁ//
ⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲛⲙⲁ
ⲁⲩ ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗⲗ//
ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲁ
ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ
ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲉ
ⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ//

Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Ambrosius [1], Apa Hor, Apa Pshoi [2], Apa Panisneu [3], Michael, Gabriel, χμγ, Mena [4], Apa Sarmate [5], our mother Mary, our mother Sibylla : the *Papa* [6] John, the *Papa* Peter his brother.

27. Limestone stela (pl. XLVI, 2).

✠ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉ
ⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲟ
ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲟ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲅⲁ
ⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ ⲟⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲛ
ⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁ
ⲃⲉⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲍⲏⲑ ⲡⲉⲛ
ⲓⲱⲧ ⲓⲁⲣⲉⲧ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ
ⲁⲑⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟⲓ
ⲉ ⲛⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏⲥ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟ
ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲭⲩ
ⲧⲁⲃⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲃⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ
ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ
ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡ ⲁⲡⲁ ϕⲓⲃ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲟⲩ
ⲣⲟⲩⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲱⲍⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲙ
ⲡⲁⲕⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲍⲁⲙ ⲡⲭⲱⲱ
ⲣⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲟ
ⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲕⲁ
ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲩⲣⲁⲛⲁ ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛⲁ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲛⲁ
ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲛⲱⲙⲙⲟⲛⲏ
ⲁⲥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ
//ⲕⲃ//ⲛⲡⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲕ/ ⲓⲃ//
ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲥ
ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ//ⲏ// ⲉⲛ
ⲍⲁⲑⲱⲣ ⲛⲁⲓⲕ/ ⲓⲱⲥⲏϕ
ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙ
ⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ

1. ⲱⲏⲣⲉ, l. ⲱⲏⲣⲉ. — 5. ⲟ, l. ⲑ. — 9. ⲓⲟⲓ, l. ⲓⲟⲧ. — 11. ⲡⲭⲩ, l. ⲡⲭⲩ. — 12. ⲡⲃⲉⲥ, l. ⲡⲣⲉⲥ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias [7], Apa Enoch, the holy Michael, the holy Gabriel, the holy Mary [8], our father Adam, our father Abel, our father Seth, our father Jared [9], our father Methuselah, our fathers the Patriarchs, our fathers the Apostles, the twenty four Elders [10], our fathers (the) martyrs, our father Apa Apollo [11],

[1] Ambrosius and Hor are coupled together also in n°s 37 and 76, and in a Leipzig Ms. (Crum, *P. S. B. A.*, XXIX, p. 290). They seem to be connected with Upper Egypt (*ibid.*).

[2] Probably the well known disciple of Macarius the Great, Z. 48, etc.

[3] Cf. Georgii, *De mirac. S. Coluthi et reliq. act. S. Panesniu.*, 1793.

[4] This name is inserted, evidently later, in smaller letters. No doubt, the military Saint of Alexandria.

[5] This Apa occurs also in n°s 36, 75, 76. The absence of his brother Pamoun renders it unlikely that he is the Martyr of Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, n° 344. Perhaps he was a local Saint.

[6] Πρεσβύτερος. Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, p. 478, n.

[7] This stela has an unusually long list of Saints invoked. The two local saints, Jeremias and Enoch, have their customary place, immediately after the Trinity and before the Archangels and the Virgin.

[8] In these invocations the Virgin usually comes after the Archangels. Perhaps it indicates the continuance of an ancient practice begun long before the Council of Ephesus (431).

[9] *Gen.*, v, 15-20.

[10] *Apoc.*, iv, 4.

[11] Apollo, Anoup and Phib are the patron Saints of the monastery of Bawit (Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, *Mém. Inst. franç. Arch.*, XII, *passim*). For Apollo, cf. Crum, *A. Z.*, XL, p. 60. He is the saint commemorated in the *Synaxarium* on Paophi 25 and Mechir 5 (cf. Crum, *P. S. B. A.*, XXIX, p. 291) and Phib is his companion, ar. Abîb, of the former date, as is proved by the Calendar in Clédat, *u. s.*, p. 5, where Phib is commemorated on that day.

Apa Anoup, Apa Phib, Apa Makare [1], Apa Sourous [2], Apa John of Pake [3], Apa Moses [4], Apa Abraham the strong [5], Apa Apollo the Light [6] (and) all the Saints according to their names; have mercy on Ama Susanna the mother of the great(?) convent [7], who went to her rest on the 22nd day of Payni in the twelfth indiction. Her sister Martyria went to her rest on the 8th day of Athyr in the indiction. Joseph their son went to his rest on the...day.

28. Limestone stela (pl. XLVI, 3).

ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡ
ⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ
ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲧⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱ
ⲧ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱ
ⲧ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣ
ⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ
ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲫⲓⲃ ⲁϥⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ
ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉ ⲙ
ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲣⲏ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲕⲉ ⲡⲉϥ
ⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲙⲧⲟⲛ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Adam, our father Michael, our father Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch: our brother Phib went to his rest on the 16th day of Mesore. George his father went to his rest.

39. Limestone stela, a bloc in floor in 762, stair south-east of cloister (pl. XLVII, 1).

ⲡⲉⲭⲥⲡ
☩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
☩
ⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲡⲁⲛⲏⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲏⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲡⲱⲗ
ⲗⲱ ⲡⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲗⲗ. ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ
ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲙⲡⲕⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ ⲙⲡⲛⲓⲱⲧ
ⲁⲗⲁⲙ ⲕⲁⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ
ⲱⲡⲕ ⲙⲟⲱⲧⲕ ⲣⲁⲱⲧⲕ ⲧⲟⲱⲕ ⲟⲩⲁ
ⲁⲕ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲑϥⲓⲟⲕ ⲛⲡⲣⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ [ⲙⲡ]ⲣ
ⲥⲁⲓⲟ ⲕⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲕⲱ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲱⲛⲛ ⲥⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱ ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲥⲁⲓ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉ
ⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲓⲣϥⲉⲣⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲁ
[ⲁ]ⲗⲗ. ⲡⲣϥⲱⲱ ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϕⲁⲟϕ ⲕⲅ ⲓⲛⲁ/ ⲓⲉ

The Christ.

[1] Amid the numerous Saints of this name it is difficult to be sure which is meant. As far as one can judge, the invocation is addressed to Saints of Upper Egypt and if so, Makare of Egypt and he of Alexandria may be excluded. On the other hand the famous Bishop of Tkoow (*M. A. F.*, IV, p. 92) would be quite within the district, or it may be one of the less known ones e. g. the martyr celebrated on Tybi 27 (Wüstenfeld, and Abu Salih, 77 *a*(?)) or the ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲉ of the Bawit Calendar (u. s.) under Pashons 23, or the martyr «of Menuf» (Malan, on Payni 5, cf. Guidi, *Synax. Ethiop.* for that day).

[2] Apa Sourous is occasionally invoked elsewhere; cf. *Bull. Inst. fr.*, III, p. 85; Davies, *Der el Gebrawi*, II, p. 46; *Rec. tr.*, V, p. 63. Who he is I do not know, unless perhaps he be the monk whom Pachom chose to be head of his monastery at Pakhnoum near Esne (Amélineau, *Vie de Pakhôme*, p. 78).

[3] This name occurs also in Davies u. s. pl. 29 (ⲡⲣⲙⲡⲁⲕⲉ). Mr. Crum has given me a reference to Bock, *Matériaux*, p. 38, n° 50, from Gebel et-Teir (ⲓⲱ2. ⲙⲡⲁⲕⲏ) and tells me that he is found on a graffito at Denderah (ⲓⲱ2. ⲙⲡⲁⲕⲉ, unpublished), and that the name of the place occurs in a Ms. in the Rylands Coll. and on a fragment in the British Museum, and adds «I should say it all points to this John being a local Saint in the Eshmunain-Siut district and to ⲡⲁⲕⲉ being a place thereabouts»; cf. also *Ann. Serv.*, IX, p. 221.

[4] Probably the archimandrite of the monastery near Abydos (Crum in Murray, *Osireion*, p. 39).

[5] An Abraham distinguished by this epithet seems to be elsewhere unknown. It does not seem appropriate either for the hermit disciple of Pachom (*Synax. Paophi* 30), or for the head of the monastery of Der Hadah (Amélineau, *Géogr.*, p. 313).

[6] I have not identified this Apollo the Light (*lux*). The name occurs again on a Calendar of Saints' festivals recently discovered at Sakkara.

[7] The mason has blundered and made a letter which resembles ⲱ at first sight but is probably ⲟ plus another letter. If so, it must be ⲟⲩ. What or where the «great convent» was we do not know. There is no other trace of a convent in these inscriptions and the title ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ precludes almost any other meaning being given to ⲙⲟⲛⲏ.

☩ O Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Panisneu[1], Ama Sibylla, Apa Apollo, our father David[2], and all the Saints: remember all the race of our father Adam, forgive us our sins, Amen. .... thyself(?), examine thyself(?)[3], be contented(?)[4], control thyself alone(?), obey, be humble[5], judge not, condemn not[6], forgive that you may be forgiven and that you may live in God.

Whoever shall read these words, remember me the sinner the *Papa* David who cries out «Forgive me». Amen. Paophi 23 indiction 15(?).

30. Limestone stela (pl. XLVII, 2).

☩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲡ̄ⲛⲁ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁ
ⲣⲓⲁ// ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲟ
ⲛ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲱⲉⲛⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ
ⲁϥⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ//ⲁⲓ̈
ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲣⲏ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲓⲣⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ
ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲏⲥ// ⲁϥⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟ
ϥ ⲛⲥⲩⲟⲭⲟⲩⲧⲕ̄ⲁ̄ ⲛⲉⲙⲱ
ⲓⲣ ⲟ̄ϥ̄

7. The last two letters of ⲓⲣⲏⲛ and the last three of ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ligatured. — 9. ⲛⲥⲩⲟ, l. ⲛⲥⲟⲩ. — 10. ⲟ̄ϥ̄, l. ϥ̄ⲟ̄.

☩ O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, our mother Mary, Ama Sibylla[7]; our brother Enoch the son of Pachom went to his rest on the 1st day[8] of Mesore in peace, Amen; John went to his rest on the 24th day[9] of Mechir. Amen[10].

31. Limestone stela (pl. XLVII, 3) (XV, 4), (left).

ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱ
ⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡ
ⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲁⲃ ϩⲁⲙⲏ
ⲛ ⲙⲓϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲅ
ⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ ⲁⲡ
ⲗ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ
ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗⲗⲁ
ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲡⲱⲉⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱ
ϫ ⲁϥⲕⲁⲥⲙⲙⲁ
ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲥ
ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩⲧ ⲥⲁⲱⲃⲉ
ⲛⲛⲁⲱⲛⲓ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲓ
ⲣⲏⲛⲉ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ

13. ⲥⲙⲙⲁ, l. ⲥⲱⲙⲁ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Amen. Michael, Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Ama Sibylla: our

[1] Cf. n° 26 (p. 36, note 3).

[2] David the King, invoked no doubt by reason of the deceased's name being also David.

[3] L. ⲙⲟⲱⲧ̄ⲕ.

[4] L. ⲣⲁⲱⲧ̄ⲕ; cf. *Hebr.*, XIII, 5 (sah.).

[5] = ⲟ̄ⲃ̄ⲃⲓⲟⲕ.

[6] Cf. Peyron, *Lex.*, ⲃⲁⲉⲓⲟ rarely used for ⲧⲃⲁⲉⲓⲟ.

[7] Ama Sibylla is one of the most frequent names in these invocations. No historical female saint of that name is known, and it seems unlikely that any woman, however saintly, would be so constantly invoked in a monastery. Perhaps the Sibyl is meant, who was regarded as the authoress of the Sibylline Oracles, most of which probably had their origin in Alexandria. In a passage from a «History of the discovery of Christ's tomb» at Turin (cf. Lemm, *Kl. Kopt. Stud.*, p. 431, 522) she is regarded as a prophetess and is styled the sister of the biblical Enoch, who as the reputed author of the Book of Enoch, had also a great prophetic name.

[8] ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲓ̈, note the bohairic form for sah. ⲥⲟⲩⲁ.

[9] Instead of writing out ϫⲟⲩⲧⲁϥⲧⲉ the scribe has stopped short at ϫⲟⲩⲧ and then added the figures 24.

[10] ⲟ̄ϥ̄, doubtless a mason's blunder for ϥⲑ = 99. Cf. n° 10 (p. 31, note 2).

brother [1] Peter, their son [2], the son [3] of Apa Enoch, laid down his body... [4] on the 27th day of Payni in peace. Amen.

32. Limestone stela (pl. XVII, 4).

ⲡⲓⲱⲧ-ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̅ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲧ̅ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ⲙⲁⲁⲩ
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ′ ⲧ̅ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ⲙⲁⲁⲩ
ⲥⲓⲃⲁⲗⲗⲁ′ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲱⲟⲩ
ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁϥⲕⲁ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲥⲟⲩ
ⲭⲟⲩⲭⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁ
ⲱⲛⲉ ⲥ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ
✠

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, our mother Mary, our mother Sibylla [5] : Apa Shoi (?) [6] their son, laid down his body on the 23rd [7] day of Payni in peace. Amen.

33. Limestone stela (pl. XLVII, 5).

ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉ
ⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ
ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡ ⲡⲥⲓⲟⲩⲣ
ⲁϥⲙ̅ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̅ⲥⲟⲩ ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲁϥⲧⲉ ⲛ̅
ⲙ̅ⲱⲓⲣ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏ
ⲛⲏ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ
✠

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch : Anoup, the eunuch [8], went to his rest on the 24th day of Mechir in peace. Amen.

34. Limestone stela from the east end of the corridor n° 756 (pl. XLVIII, 1).

✠ ⲡⲛ̅ⲥⲟⲛ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲡ
ⲱⲛ̅ⲯⲁⲥ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ · ⲓⲱ
ⲥⲏⲫ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲭⲱⲣⲙ̅ⲁ
ⲃⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲙⲁⲭⲟⲛ
ⲛⲧⲟⲛ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ
ⲙⲃⲛⲁⲭ
ⲡⲛ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲓⲣⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ϥ

Our brother Victor, the son of the teacher Mena : Joseph the less..... [9], Victor the..... [10], George .... [11], Apa Kire the less.

(1) *i. e.* the monk.

(2) *i. e.* the (spiritual) son of the Saints invoked.

(3) *i. e.* the bodily son of an Apa Enoch (not the same as the one invoked), who had been married and had a family before he entered the monastery.

(4) I do not know what ⲛⲟⲩ means here.

(5) The forms of this name vary much, see Index.

(6) ⲱⲟⲩ, l. ⲫⲟⲩ; cf. n° 21; in *Bull. Inst. fr.*, III, p. 85, ⲡⲱⲟⲓ is written for ⲡⲫⲟⲓ.

(7) ⲭⲟⲩⲭⲟⲙⲧⲉ = ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲫⲟⲙⲧⲉ; cf. *C. P. R.*, II, n° XLVIII, 5.

(8) Cf. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, p. 121.

(9) Perhaps ⲉϥⲭⲱⲣⲙ̅ for the more correct ⲡⲣⲉϥⲭⲱⲣⲙ "the driver" (cf. Robinson, *Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 20, l. 24-5).

(10) L. [ⲡⲉ]ⲛⲥⲟⲛ (?).

(11) L. ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭ[ⲟⲥ] (?).

35. Limestone block (pl. XLVIII, 2).

ⲡⲓ̈ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲛⲉⲩ ☩ ⲙⲁ ⲉⲧ
ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅
ⲁⲣⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲙⲛⲧⲉ
ⲯⲓ̈ⲭⲏ ⲛⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲕ ⲙⲛⲕⲓ̈
ⲣⲓ̈ⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲓ̈ⲅⲉ
ⲣⲓ̈ⲗⲉ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Jesus the Christ : have mercy on the soul of Isaac and Cyricus.....

36. Limestone block (pl. XLVIII, 3).

☩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅
ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲏ
ⲙⲓⲁⲥ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ☩
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲁⲧⲁ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲁⲙⲃⲣⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲱⲣ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲱⲟⲓ̈ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁ
ⲛⲓⲥⲛⲏⲩ ☩ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ☩ ⲭ̅ⲙ̅ⲅ̅

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Sarmata[1], Apa Ambrosius, Apa Hor, Apa Pshoi, Apa Panisneu. Amen. ⲭⲙⲅ[2].

37. Limestone stela, fragment from room 713 (pl. XLVIII, 4). — Greek.

. . . . . ΑΓ
. . . Α ЄΝ Κ ΑΝ
[ΑΠ]ΑΥCΟΝ ΑΥ
ΤΙΝ ЄΝ ΙΡΙΝΙ Α
ΜΙΝ ☩

1, 2. L. *ἀγαπητά* (l. *ή*) *ἐν κ(υρίῳ)*(?). — 3, 4. L. *αὐτήν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀμην.*

. . .beloved(?) in the Lord(?), give her rest in peace. Amen.

38. Limestone stela, fragment (pl. XLVIII, 5).

ⲉⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡ[ⲁ
ⲉ]ⲛⲱⲭ ⲁ[ⲡⲁ
ⲯⲏⲍ
ⲁⲡ

. . .Holy [Spirit], Ap[a Jeremias, Apa E]noch, A[pa....

[1] For all the saints invoked here, cf. n° 26, notes.
[2] Cf. n° 8, note 8.

39. Limestone stela (pl. XLVIII, 6).

✠ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛ
ⲡⲱⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
(?)
ⲓⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲛ̄ⲧ

Apa An..... the first..... went forth [in the] Apa's cell(?)[1] in the....

40. Limestone stela (pl. XLVIII, 7).

✠ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲓⲣ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲡⲛ̄ⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉ
ⲣⲉⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲛⲉ(?)
ⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛ
ⲱⲭ ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩⲛⲁ
ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ☩ⲩⲭⲏ
ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲁϥ
ⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛⲥⲟⲩ ⲕ̄ⲑ̄ ϕⲁⲙ̄
..... ⲓⲛⲁ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Apa Jeremias, our father Apa Enoch : have mercy on the soul of the blessed Mena who went to his rest on the 29th day of Phamenoth....indiction.

41. Limestone stela from room 744 (pl. XLVIII, 8).

✠ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲱⲏⲓ ⲙⲉⲡⲉ...
ⲉⲧⲟⲉⲉⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲣⲙ...
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲓⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲡ[ⲁ...
ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛⲉⲥⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ...
ⲛⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ...
ⲥⲉⲙⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲁⲥ...
ⲱⲓⲣ ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ...

O Father and the Son and the Holy [Spirit], Apa Jeremias(?), Apa Enoch, Apa.....: have mercy on [the soul] of the blessed M...., she went to her rest [on the — day of Me]chir. Amen[2].

42. Limestone stela from room 710 (pl. XLIX, 1).

✠ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉ
ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁ
ⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲁⲅⲅⲉ
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲑⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓ
ⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, O Archangel Michael, O holy Mary, Apa Gabriel the archangel, all the Saints[3].

[1] L. ⲧⲣⲓⲛⲁⲡⲁ(?), see n° 48. Perhaps this is a form of grave stone. Cf. n° 132.
[2] The dialect is Middle Egyptian, the only unusual spelling being ⲉⲧⲟⲉⲉⲃ for ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲉⲃ.
[3] Below a space of 4 3/4 lines is left blank, evidently never used.

43. Limestone stela (pl. XLIX, 2).

† ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲑⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ
ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲉ
ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉ

✠ Jesus the Christ, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, the holy Mary, Ama Sibylla, Apa Paie(?), all the Saints, watch over [1].

44. Limestone stela (pl. XLIX, 3).

† ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̅ⲁ ⲉⲧ
ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ″ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉ
ⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ″ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ″ ⲡⲉⲛ
ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲭ̣ⲁⲏⲗ″ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ″
5 ⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ″ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃ
ⲩⲗⲗⲁ″ ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥ
ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ″ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ
ⲁⲙⲁ ⲛⲟⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲉ
ⲣⲉ″ ⲁⲥⲕⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁ
10 ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲥⲟⲩϫⲟⲩ″
″ⲕⲁ″ ⲛⲉⲱⲓⲣ″

11. ⲛⲉⲱⲓⲣ, l. ⲙⲉⲱⲓⲣ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, our father Michael, Gabriel, our mother Mary, Ama Sibylla, the fathers the holy Apostles : Ama None, their daughter, laid down her body on the 24th of Mechir.

45. Limestone block (pl. XLIX, 4).

✠ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓ[ⲁⲥ]
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲧⲉ[ϥ]ⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲟⲛ
ⲕⲁ]ⲟⲩϫ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲍ ⲡⲁϫⲱⲛ
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲉϥⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ̅ⲏ̅ ⲡⲁ
5 ϫⲱⲛ ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲕ ⲁ ⲧⲉⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁ
ⲁⲩ ⲁⲥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ

2. ⲏ and ⲛ ligatured. — 4. ⲛ and ⲙ ligatured.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, have mercy on the soul of my brother Colluthus who went to his rest on the 7th day of Pachon : Mary his sister went to her rest on the 8th day of Pachon in the first indiction : Termoute their mother went to her rest on the day [2].

46. Limestone block (pl. XLIX, 5) (above).

✠ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏ[ⲙⲓⲁⲥ]
ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲱ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ
ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲣⲙ[ⲟⲩⲧⲉ]

... Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch ..... Paterm(oute).

[1] The name of the person for whom the stela was prepared was never filled in, three lines below the inscription being left blank.

[2] The inscription is left incomplete.

The left half of the stela is missing. On it must have been a large ⲁ corresponding to the ⲱ on the right half.

47. Limestone block (pl. XLIX, 5) (below).

ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏ[ⲗ]
ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲉ″ ⲭ̅ⲙ̅[ⲅ

.... Michael .... *Papa* Paul ⲭⲙⲅ.

48. Limestone, from room 700 K.

ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉ
ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ
ⲧⲙⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲛⲙ
ⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲓⲃⲗⲗⲁ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲡ
ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲗⲟⲩⲭ ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲛⲁ
ⲡⲁ ⲁϥⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲙ
ⲧⲏ″ ⲛⲛⲙⲱⲓⲣ ϩⲛⲟⲩⲓⲣⲏⲛ▨
ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ̅ ⲓⲛⲇⲓⲕ ⲉ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, our mother Mary, our mother Sibylla : our brother the *Papa* Colluthus of the Apa's Cell (?) [1]. He went to his rest on the 10th day of Mechir in peace. Amen. The 5th indiction.

49. Limestone.

....ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
....ⲟ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ
...ⲓⲉ]ⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ
....ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲓⲥⲓⲧⲱⲣⲉ
....ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲁ
...ⲉⲓⲣ]ⲏⲛⲉ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⲛⲇⲓⲕ/ⲥ

..ⲟⲩⲉⲣ]ⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ ⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ
..ⲫⲁⲣⲙ]ⲟⲩⲧⲉ″ ⲡⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲁ
.... ″ ⲡⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲥ
...ⲟⲩⲁ ⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ
...ⲙ ⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ
ⲁϥⲙ]ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲓⲛⲇⲓⲕ ⲃ

[O Father, O Son, O] Holy Spirit ..... O holy Gabriel ... [Apa] Jeremias, Apa Enoch.... : our brother

[1] Lit. : «he that belongs to the cell of Apa», presumably Apa Jeremias. Cf. n° 91 where Apa alone seems to stand for Apa Jeremias and n° 132; also n° 39 (?). Perhaps the founder's cell (pl. I, 773) was kept as a holy place or chapel with a monk to look after it; his seat there was marked on the pavement, see n° 14. We meet with a similar description in Clédat *Baouît* where (p. 105, 127) ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ is ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲣⲓ ⲡⲁⲡⲁ «the father of the cell of the Apa» and as the title occurs twice with following text, it is certain no name of the ⲁⲡⲁ is lost or omitted. Among the same inscriptions Gerontius is called ⲡⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲣⲓ̈ (p. 105, 127, and one Abraham p. 120) without further definition and also he is ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲣⲓ (p. 105), as is also Mes (p. 107, 108). There is also a ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧ (?) ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ . . . (p. 105) (cf. Lemm, *Kl. k. Stud.*, p. 435), and on p. 107 a certain Victor is ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ «he that belongs to the cell of the children» (the monastery school?). In Crum (*B. M. Cat.*, p. 478) we find wine alloted to ⲧⲣⲓ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ with a Greek equivalent *διὰ τῶν μικρῶν παιδίων*; and Crum adds in a note another reference to a ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ, so that it would seem to have been a recognised title. In a large monastery ⲣⲓ must have meant a separate building or large room rather than a cell.

Isidore ..... went to his rest on the 1st day ..... [in] peace, Amen, indiction 6 ..... [Ouer]shenufe went to his rest ..... [Pharm]outhi : our brother David ..... : our brother Pas ..... Kam]oul(?) went to his rest .....m went to his rest on the .. day ..... went to his rest. Indiction(?) 2.

50. Limestone.

ⲡⲓ]ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲡⲛ̅ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁ]ⲁⲃ″ ⲑⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅ
ⲅ]ⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉ
ⲗ]ⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ″ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓ
ⲁⲥ] ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ″ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗ
ⲗⲁ ⲁ]ⲡⲁ ⲓⲟⲩⲗ.... ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲗⲟⲩ

1. ⲟⲩ written with small ⲟ over the ⲩ. — 6. Final ⲟⲩ, the same.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, O holy Mary, O archangel Michael, O archangel Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Ama Sibylla, Apa Julius(?) [1].

51. Limestone.

.....
ⲙⲧⲟ ⲛⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ
ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲙ
ⲡⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ″ ⲅⲉⲱⲣ
ⲅⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲙ
ⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ

4. ⲱⲏⲣⲉ, l. ⲫⲏⲣⲉ.

... went to his rest on the 21st day of Pharmuthi : George his son went to his rest on [2].

On edge of same stone :

☩ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲁⲗⲉ[illegible] ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲓⲁⲩ

52. Limestone.

..ⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲡⲛ.
...ⲩⲃ̅ⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ...
...ⲓⲱⲧ ⲕⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ...
...ⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ...
...ⲁ ⲧⲉⲛⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ...
...ϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲱ...
...ⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲉⲙⲧⲟ
.....ⲓⲏ̅ ⲛⲉ..ⲓⲣ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father [Michael, our] father Gabriel, [Apa] Jeremias, Apa Enoch ..... our mother Mary ..... my brother Eno[ch] .... went to his rest on the 13th [day] of Mechir.

[1] Perhaps the well known Saint of Akfahs (*Synax.* Thoth 22).
[2] The inscription was left incomplete at the end.

53. Limestone.

✠ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏ[ⲣⲉ ⲡ]
ⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ [ⲡⲉⲛⲓ]
ⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲑ[ⲁⲅⲓⲁ]
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲩ[ⲗⲗⲁ ⲁ]
ⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ
....ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲓⲉⲣ...
...ⲛⲥⲟ[ⲩ]...

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Michael, O holy Mary, Ama Sibylla, Apa Jeremias ..... our brother Jer[emias(?)] ..... on the day ....

54. Wood.

✠ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏ
ⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲑⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲩ
ⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲉⲣⲡⲟⲩ
ⲱⲱ ⲛⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉ
ϯⲏⲭⲏ ⲛⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲩⲛ
.....ⲉⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛ
ⲛⲙⲟϥ..ⲙ-ⲓⲍ .....ⲁ̄

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, O holy Mary, Ama Sibylla, all the Saints who have done the will of God : have mercy on the soul of the blessed Panaun ..... who went to his rest ....17..... (indiction?) 4.

55. Limestone.

.....ⲅⲁⲓ.... ....
....ⲛⲉⲓ.ⲩⲗⲗⲃ ⲓ...
....ⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ
....ⲃⲉ:ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲥⲁⲕ
....ⲟⲛ ⲙⲟⲃ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲕⲏ
....ⲛⲁⲓⲕ/ⲧ ⲅ

..... Gab[riel] ..... [all] the Saints ..... our brother Ouershenufe ..... : our brother the *Papa* Isaac .... went to his rest on the 28th day .... indiction 3.

56. Limestone from room 700.

.....ⲥⲕⲁⲥⲱ
ⲁ2ⲣⲁⲉⲓ ⲕⲅ ⲡⲁⲥⲱⲛ
ⲥ 2ⲏⲛⲟⲩ2ⲏⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲁⲙ
ⲏⲁ ✠

2. L. ⲡⲁⲱⲱⲛⲥ. — 4. L. (ⲁⲙ)ⲏⲛ.

..... laid (her) [1] body down, 23 Pashons, in peace, Amen.

[1] If the first letter ⲥ is correct, the tombstone must commemorate a woman.

57. Limestone fragment from room 700 G.

ⲕⲱⲣ ⲁ
ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟⲃ ⲛ
ⲩ″ϥ″ ⲛⲉⲁ

..... Kor, he went to his rest on the 6th day of Ha[thor]...

58. Limestone from room 700 K.

✠ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲓⲉ
ⲣⲏ ⲛⲉⲡⲛⲉⲟⲩⲙ
ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲁⲣⲏⲡ
ⲙⲉⲃⲏ ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲁ ⲡⲱ
ⲉⲓⲥⲁⲕ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲕ..

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, remember Mary the daughter (? l. ⲧⲱⲛ) of Isaac who laid (down her body) ...

The spelling is very erratic; the necessary corrections are obvious.

59. Limestone from room 704.

ⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧⲟ
ⲁⲏⲗ ⲁⲡ
ⲡⲁ
ⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃ
ⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲙ

[O Father, O Son, O] Holy Spirit .... [Mich]ael, Apa [Jeremias], Apa [Enoch], Ama Sibylla : ....e went to his rest .....

60. Limestone slabs. — Two, side by side, with continuous inscription, let into floor of cell.

ⲥ ⲭⲥ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲫⲟⲓ
ⲏⲣ ⲙⲉⲛⲑⲉⲟⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥ
ⲱⲏⲣⲉ...ϥⲏ.ⲛⲟϥ

✠ Jesus Christ, watch over my brother Phoi..er [1] and Theodorus [2] his son.....

61. Limestone block from room 705.

ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ϥⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ

On top edge of same :

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲣⲱⲛ

Paul the watchman.
I, (my) [3] brother Aaron.

[1] ⲫⲟⲓⲥⲧⲏⲣ(?) = Φωσ[ή]ρ. — [2] ⲑⲉⲟⲧⲣⲉ (cf. n° 89). — [3] Cf. n° 2, note 1.

This second line is rudely cut as far as ⲡⲁ; the last seven letters are added in faint black writing, *i. e.* they were traced for cutting which the mason never carried out.

62. Limestone slab from room 708.

....ⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙ
ⲩⲗⲗⲁ : ⲁⲙⲁ
ⲃ..ⲏⲣⲟ.ⲛ
ⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛⲓ
.....
.ⲩ.....
ⲛⲙⲟⲩ
ⲁⲓ.ⲏ....

[O Father, O] Son, O [Holy] Spirit .... Apa Jeremias .... [Ama Sib]ylla, Ama ..... Ammonius ..... went to his rest ..... indiction (?) 8 (?).

63. Limestone fragment from room 714.

▨ⲁ
▨ⲓⲛϩⲡⲣⲟⲩⲡⲉⲛ
ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ▨

..... hegumenos (l. ϩⲏⲅⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛ?)... my brother Nahroou.

64. Limestone block from room 721.

ⲓⲥ ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲃⲟⲑⲓⲁ
ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲓⲉⲩⲫⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁ
ⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ

Jesus Christ, help [1] ... my brother .... *Papa* Apollo who belongs to the refectory [2].

65. Limestone stela on floor of room 751.

☩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ
ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ .ⲁⲅⲓⲁ
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲙⲛⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲗⲁ
ⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩ
ⲉⲣⲡⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲛⲧⲉⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄
ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲗ
ⲗⲓⲛ̄ⲭ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲫⲣ
ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲫ ϩⲛ
ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ
ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲙⲡⲗⲩⲥⲧⲏⲥ
ⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲍⲁⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲫⲙ̄
ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲫ ⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲫⲏ
.ⲑ̄ ⲓⲛⲁ/ ⲓ̄ⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥ ⲭⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ
..ⲏⲁⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲩⲟⲅ▨

2. L. ⲑⲁⲅⲓⲁ. — 19. L. ⲁⲓⲟⲕⲗ]ⲏⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲩ.

[1] = *βοήθεια*, the substantive used for the verb as happens not infrequently with this word.
[2] Cf. n^os^ 13, 116, 123.

O Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, O holy Mary, O Archangel Michael and Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Nesneu, Ama Sibylla, (and) all the Saints who have done the will of God, beseech our Lord on behalf of the soul of our blessed brother Callinicus, the clerk, that He may have great mercy on him in our places [1] where he is, as (He had) on the soul of the thief [2] and Lazarus. He went to his rest in the month of Epiphi. . [3] in the 14th indiction, in the year of the epoch of [Diocl]etian 473 (?) [4].

66. On limestone pillar from room 752.

† ⲓ̅ⲥ ⲭ̅ⲥ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ⲉⲫⲓⲗⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ
ⲫⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ

Jesus Christ, watch over Philotheos the .... [5] Amen.

67. Limestone pillar from room 752.

✠ ⲓ̅ⲥ ⲭ̅ⲥ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲓⲱ
ⲥⲏⲫ ⲫⲁⲙⲱⲉ
ⲓⲥ ⲭ̄ ▨
ⲓⲉⲣⲏ

Jesus Christ, watch (over) our brother Joseph, the carpenter. Jesus Christ .... Jere[mias].

68. Incised on edge of fragment of granite bowl from room 752.

...ⲁⲏⲗ ✠ ⲁⲡ....
... [Mich]ael ✠ Ap[a] ....

69. Limestone block from room 755 (pl. XXXVI, 8).

a. .ⲁⲡ]ⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲙⲁⲛⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲱϩⲁ....

... Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Jeremias the Archimand(rite) [6], Apa Joh[n]....

b. ...ⲏⲛⲁ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲣⲉ...

... ⲏⲛⲁ; ⲏ and ⲛ ligatured. ⲱⲱⲛⲉ, l. ⲫⲱⲛⲉ.

[M]ena, the father of the sick, ...

[1] ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲓ. It is not easy to see what this means. As the prayer is for a dead man, the ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲓ can hardly refer to any shrines or monasteries. And yet it is a strange expression for heaven. Even if it has a reference to *John*, XIV, 3, the Greek word would not be expected as it is rendered by ⲙⲁ in both versions. Besides the phrase is «our *topoi*».

[2] *Luke*, XXIII, 42, 43.

[3] The 19th or 29th.

[4] The only doubtful cipher is the last one; therefore the date must lie between 471 and 479 = A. D. 755-763 and the 14th indiction year lying between those limits is 761-762. This would be Diocl. 477-478 and as Epiphi would fall in 468 the last figure was probably ⲏ. However the date is certain within the limits of the 9 years given above.

[5] The reading is certain.

[6] From this it would seem that Jeremias the Archimandrite is a distinct person from the Founder.

70. Limestone fragment from room 755.

... ΜΗΝΙϹ
ΠΕΝϹΟΝ ΙΟΥϹΤΕ
ΜΤΕΚΛΗϹΙ...

.... our brother Justus [1].... of(?) the church(?) [2]...

71. Limestone slab from room 755.

On edge :

✠ ΠΕΝϹΟΝ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΑΙΟΥ

Our brother *papa* Paiou [3].

72. Limestone block from room 756.

✠ ΠΙϢΤ ΜΝ̄ΠϢΗΡΕ
Π̄Λ ΕΤ ΜΑΡ
.....
ΜΝΠ
ΡΗ|||

2. l. ΗΝ̄Λ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ (?).

73. Limestone block from room 758.

ϕΙΒ ΝΝΟΙΚΟΝΜΟΜΟϹ ΠΑΜΟΥ!

Phib to the *œconomi* [4], Pamoui (?) [5].

74. Limestone fragment from room 760.

ΠΙϢΤ ΠϢ...
ΠΕΠΝ̄Λ ΕΤ...
ΛΠΛ ΙΕΡΗ...
[Λ]Π]Λ ΕΝϢ...

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch ...

75. Limestone from room 761.

ΑΜ..ΑΠΑ
ΟϹ ΜΙΧΑΗ..Α

[1] Named doubtless after the martyr Justus, for whom see Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, n° 338.
[2] Cf. n° 11, l. 14 (?).
[3] Cf. Murray, *Osireion*, pl. XXXVII ΠΑΟΥΑ and ΠΑΟΥ.
[4] *Οἰκονόμος* = ϮΜ̄ΝΗΙ «steward, a monastery official»; cf. *M. A. F.*, IV, p. 257. Lefebvre, *Inscr. gr.-chr.*, p. xxxvii.
[5] More probably ΠΑΜΟΥΝ.

ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲥⲁⲣⲙⲁ
ⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ .
ⲙⲏ ⲋⲁ.ⲏⲛ : ⲡⲉ
ⲙⲱⲓⲣ″ⲉ = ⲓⲛⲁ.ⲓⲕ
ϥⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟ

..... the holy (?) Michael ..... Apa Sarma[te] ..... George his son ..... our brother Apollo .... [in] peace Amen : our brother (?) ... 5th [day of] Mechir in the ... indiction ..... entered into his rest on the — day (l. ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ) ....

76. Limestone block (part of door jamb) from room 770.

ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲱⲏ[ⲣⲉ] ⲡⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲡⲉⲛⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ⲡⲋⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲙⲃⲣⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲋⲱⲣ ☩ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ
[ⲥ]ⲁⲣⲙⲁⲧⲉ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲓⲗⲁⲓⲁ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁ
.ⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ☩ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲫⲓⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡ
ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗ
ⲁ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our beloved holy father the holy Apa Jeremias, ☩ Apa Enoch ☩ Apa Ambrosius [1] ☩ Apa Hor ☩ the *papa* Apollo [2] ☩ Apa Sarmate ☩ Apa Philaia ☩ Apa Apollo [3] ☩ Apa Phib, Apa Anoup, Sibylla.

77. Limestone fragment from room 776.

....ⲏⲣ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙ | ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ

....ⲁⲉ ⲧⲉⲙⲁⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙ
... ⲋⲁⲛⲏⲥ

[O Father, O] Son and (l. ⲙ̄ⲛ?) the Holy Spirit (l. ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) ..... our mother Mary : have mercy on me .... John.

78. On side of door in room 781.

☩ ⲓⲱⲋⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ
ⲫⲁⲙⲱⲉ ⲯⲁ

and in red paint :

ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲁⲡ.ⲩ ⲫⲙⲱⲉ

John the Less, the carpenter, the teacher (l. ⲯⲁⲋ?); Enoch Papou (?), the carpenter.

[1] For most of these Saints see notes to n° 26.

[2] Perhaps the same as ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ of n° 27.

[3] Cf. n° 27 (p. 36, note 11).

79. Limestone fragment from room 784.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΚΟΙ

Theodore the Less (ΚΟΥΙ).

80. Limestone (sebakh).

† ΠΙΩΤ ΠΦΗΡΕ ΠΝΥΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ
ΠΝΙΩΤ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΑΡΧΗΑΓΕΛΟC
ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC
ΠΝΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΝΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΗΒ/
ΚΑΤΑΝΥΟΥΡΑΝ ΑΡΙΟΥΝΑ ΜΝΤΗ
ΨΙΧΗ ΝΠΑΙΩΤ ΠΑΠΑ ΓΟCC
ΚΙΡΟC ΝΤΑ Η ΙΧ

4. l. ΤΗΡΟΥ. — 5. l. ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΡΑΝ. — 7. l. ΝΤΑϤΜΤΟΝ ΜΟϤ(?) ΝCΟΥΙΑ.

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit, our father Michael the Archangel, our father Gabriel, Apa Jeremias, our father Apa Enoch, all the Saints by their names : have mercy on the soul of my father *papa* ... kiros [1] who entered into his rest(?) on the 14th (?) [day(?)] [2].

81. Limestone (from sebakh).

Π[ΩΤ ΠΦΗ]
ΡΕ Π[ΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ]
ΑΑΒ ΝΝ
ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC
ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ✠
ΠΕΝCON ΠΤΟ
ΛΕΜΙΟC ΝΑΤΕΩ
ΝΗ ΠΕΥΦΗΡΕ
ΠCON ΝΙΦCΗϕ
ΑΗΚΑΙΩΜΑ Ε
[2]ΡΑΙ ΝCΟΥΧΟΥ
ΤCΑΦϤΕ ΜΜΕ
COΡΗ ΝΟΥΕΙΡΗ
ΝΗ ΣΑΜΗΝ
ΚΖ

O Father, O Son, O Holy Spirit ..... Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch ✠ our brother Ptolemy the gardener (l. ΠΑΤΕΦΝΗ), their son, the brother of Joseph, laid (l. ΑϤΚΑCΩΜΑ) down his body on the 27th day of Mesore in peace. Amen. 27 [3].

82. Limestone, two blocks (sebakh).

ΠΙΩΤ] ΠΦΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝ̄ΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ Μ[Ι]ΧΑΗΛ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ
ΤΕΜΑΥ]ΜΑΡΙΑ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜ[ΙΑC Α]ΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΜΑ CΙ
ΒΥΛΑ] ΠΕΝCON ΣΗΧ.ΕΙΑC Π... ΣΩΡ ΠΕΦΦΗΡΕ
ΑϤΜΤ]ΟΝ ΜΟϤ ΝCON.....ΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΣΕΝCΥ
]Ε ΣΑΜΗΝ

[O Father], O Son, O Holy Spirit, Michael, Gabriel, [our mother] Mary, Apa Jerem[ias, A]pa Enoch, Ama

(1) Dioscorus (?).
(2) The inscription is badly cut and more than usually erratic in spelling.
(3) Probably the age of the deceased. Cf. n° 120.

Si[bylla] : our brother Hech.eias[1] the ... Hor his son, went to his rest on the .... day (l. ϲογ) of Pharmuthi in peace (l. ϩεηϩγρηνε?). Amen.

83. Limestone (sebakh).

ⲛⲙⲁ
ⲁⲁⲩ [ⲁⲡ]ⲁ ⲙⲓ
ϫⲁϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲛ[ⲥⲟ]ⲛ ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲓⲛⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩⲱϩⲣ[ⲉ ⲁⲩ]ⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟ
ⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲩϫⲟⲩⲧ̀ϯⲓ̀ⲥ̀ ⲙⲙⲉⲥⲟⲣϩ
ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ
ⲡⲉⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙ
ⲟⲩ ⲛ

In red ink : ☩ ☩ ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲕ.

..... our mother (ⲧⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲁⲩ?) [Mary, our] mother [Sibylla], Apa Michael : our brother Taurinus, their son, went to his rest on the 29th day of Mesore; our brother Peter the Less, his brother, went to his rest on .....

84. Limestone (sebakh).

☩ ⲓⲥ ⲭⲥ
ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ
ⲁ ⲧⲉϯⲓⲭ
ⲏ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ
ⲕⲓⲣⲉ ☩

Jesus Christ, have mercy (l. ⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛⲁ) (on) the soul of Apa Kire.

85. Limestone fragment (sebakh).

ⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲉⲧ
ⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲉⲙⲧ
ⲡⲁⲣⲙϩⲟⲧⲡ
ⲁⲣⲑⲁ ⲧⲉⲥⲱⲉⲉ
ⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ
ⲟⲩ

[O Father, O] Son, O Holy Spirit ..... Mary(?) who went to her rest [on the — day of] Pharmuthi ..... [M]artha her daughter .....

86. Limestone (sebakh).

〃 ⲁⲣⲉⲙⲓ̀ⲟⲧⲡ ϩⲛⲟⲩ
ⲙ ⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ
ⲡ ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲕ/ϩ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ
ⲁ ⲡ ⲧ̀ⲉⲙ̀...ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙ...
ⲥ ⲗⲓⲛ ⲥⲙ

..... Phamenoth in peace Amen, 7th indiction; our brother ..... remember me ....

[1] Perhaps ϩⲏⲗⲓⲥⲉⲓⲁⲥ; cf. Murray, *Osireion*, ⲉⲗⲓⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ.

87. Limestone fragment (sebakh).

ϵι ⲛⲁ
ϵϥⲛⲥⲟ
ⲁⲙ
ⲟⲛⲙⲟⲥⲛⲅ
ϵⲙⲥⲟⲧⲡ
ⲧⲟⲛⲙⲟ
ⲱⲟⲛⲥ″
ⲁϥϵⲙⲧ
ⲟⲩ″ⲍⲙ

1. l. ϵⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ. — 2. l. ⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟ[ⲩ]. — 4. l. [ⲁⲥⲙⲧ]ⲟⲛ ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲥ[ⲟⲩ].

.... went to his rest on the — day ..... went to her rest on the — day of Phamenoth .... went to his (*or* her) rest .... [Pa]shons : .... he went to his rest on the 7th day of ....

88. Limestone (sebakh).

☩ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡ
ϵⲧⲛⲥ
.ⲡⲁ
.ⲛ...ⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲙϵⲛ
ⲧϵⲡ[ⲯ]ⲓⲭⲏ ⲧⲓⲟⲥⲕϵ ϵ
ⲧⲁϥϵⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲟϥ ⲥⲟ
..ⲣ. ⲛⲁⲑⲱⲣ

2. l. [ⲡ]ⲉⲡⲛⲉ[ⲩⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ].

O Father, O [Son, O Holy Ghost], Apa [Jeremias, Apa E]n[och, have] mercy on the soul of Tioske (Dioscorus?) who went to his rest on the 12th (?) day (l. ⲥⲟⲩ$\overline{ⲓⲃ}$?) of Athyr.

B. — INSCRIPTIONS IN PAINT OR INK, AND GRAFFITI.

89. Red paint on limestone from room 753 (pl. XLVI, 4).

ⲃⲓⲕⲧ.....ⲁⲕⲟⲩⲙ ⲍⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁ
ⲍⲏⲗⲓⲁⲥ ⲍϵ[ⲗⲗ]ⲟ ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲓⲱⲍⲁⲛⲏⲥ
ⲓⲱⲥⲏϕ ⲡⲉⲃⲱⲱ ⲓⲱⲥⲏϕ ⲡⲍⲁⲙⲱϵ
ⲅⲉⲱⲣϵ ⲡⲕⲁⲥϵ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲍⲁⲙ ⲁⲣⲙⲁⲧϵ
ϕⲓⲗⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⲙⲉⲛⲡⲁ[ⲩ]ⲗϵ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ
ⲑⲉⲟⲧⲣϵ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣϵ ⲡ....ⲡⲥϵ.
ⲙⲉⲥ ⲱⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧϵ ⲡⲕⲁⲥϵ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙϵ
ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲡϵ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲛⲁⲣϵⲁⲥ ⲡⲱ
ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣϵ ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲧ ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥϵ
ⲓⲱⲍⲁⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲍⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲡ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁ ⲧ

2. ⲓⲱⲍ. orig. written ⲍⲱⲍ. and corrected.

Victor, Habbacuc(?) [1], Zacharias, Elias (the) old man, the builder, John, Joseph the Nubian [2], Joseph the carpenter, George [3] the grave-digger(?) [4], Abraham, Armate [5], Philotheus and Paul his brother, Theodore, Macarius....., Shenoute the grave-digger(?); remember me in charity, me Andrew the son of Macarius the builder; forgive me [6], John the.....[7], Anoup, Jeremias....

90. Black in ink on plaster of wall in room 1704 (pl. L, 1).

† θ
cγ
ϩmπρ[ϧ]n m̄π[noγ]τϵ n̄ϣopπ m[ϵ]nϩωϐ nim ϧn....
ϧρiπϧmϵϵγϵ ntϵππoγτϵ n̄τϧϩh ϵϐ[oλ]....
ϩnnicϩϧi nϥϵρπϧmϵϵγϵ ϵρϵππoγτϵ
..h.ϵ m̄πϧχoϵic n̄iωτ ϧπϧm n̄ϧπϧ πcϧ...

nϧnoγc ϩn̄tmhtϵ n̄nϵ.ϧ....
πϵcmoγ ϩn̄πϥϭ

✠ With God.

In the name of God, first of all things I(?).....remember me and may God bring me to a [good] end [8].... in these words and may he remember me.

It is a good thing in the midst of the...
The blessing(?) in his....[9].

91. Black ink on plaster of wall in room 727 (pl. L, 2).

✠ ī c̄ πϵχ c̄ πϵnχoϵic .....ι
coγϥtooγ nϧaθωρ .ϕoγmi
cϵ nϧπϧ : coγϧ mπϣonc
ϧγωϐχωϥ : coγmπϣωnϵ ϧγ
ϧϥ mπρϵcϐγτϵρoc : coγχoγ
τcnooγc ntωϐϵ ϧϥϵmton
moϥ : coγīϗ nϧaθωρ ϕoγmiϵ̄
nϧπ...ωχ : coγk̄ nϵπnϕ ϧγϧn̂

3. Quibell on revision believes the π to be an m with very shallow centre stroke. If so, it must be an error for π since all the following pronouns are masculine. — 4. The ϐ is more like c or o.

[1] At first sight the names invoked seem to be those of Saints and martyrs, and most of them could be identified as such (l. 5 is especially suggestive), but they would form an unusually heterogeneous assemblage; and as several names are distinguished by occupations, it seems better to regard them as members of the monastery (perhaps the Elders) whose pardon is asked by an erring member or members. ....ϧkoγm suggests ϧmϐϧkoγm.

[2] Cf. n°s 146, 148.

[3] l. rεωργε.

[4] The reading of the second letter (or letters) is doubtful : but it is probably the same word as in line 7. Its meaning is uncertain; Mr. Crum has suggested the above as possible.

[5] Perhaps an error for cϧρmϧτϵ.

[6] At the end of line 9 are two letters cϵ which belong however, I think, to the final group of the line below. What they mean, I fail to see.

[7] πiϩmoγ, cf. n° 158. Meaning unknown; but Mr. Crum suggests it may be for πcϧnϩmoγ «the seller of salt» (a term found in Clédat's *Baouît*, II, p. 100) and quotes an instance from the Rylands MSS of πεμpic being used where one would expect πcϧnεμpic (Crum, *Cat. Copt. MSS Rylands Libr.*, n° 137).

[8] A frequent phrase on tombstones, which is completed by the addition of ϵcρϧnϧϥ (*Rec. tr.*, XX, p. 174; *Bull. Inst. fr.*, II, p. 59), ϵcρϣϧγ (*Bull. Inst. fr.*, V, p. 13), or κλϣc (*ibid.*, V, p. 16).

[9] These lines must be a quotation, but I have failed to identify it. πϵcmoγ without the context may be either «the blessing» or «her death».

✠ Jesus Christ our Lord ..... the fourth day of Athyr.. the birthday of Apa [1] : the first day of Pashons he was tonsured [2] : the day [3] of Payni he was made presbyter : the twenty second day of Tybi he went to his rest : the eleventh day of Athyr the birthday of Ap[a En]och : the twentieth day of Epiphi he was ....[4].

92. Black ink on plaster of wall in room 728 (pl. L, 3).

ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁ]ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲁϩ ⲡⲱⲛ..
..]ⲁⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲣ ⲍⲱⲅⲣⲁⲫⲟⲥ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲥ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲕ

Remember me, Marcus, the humble, the son of ... [Phoeb]ammon(?), the elder, (the) painter : John the less makes adoration.

93. Painted inscriptions by wall-paintings (pl. LV). — In the line above the Virgin and Child with archangels and three Saints.

(*sic*)
ⲧⲏⲁⲅⲓⲁ .....ⲡⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲙⲁⲣⲏⲥ· ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ· ⲡⲛⲥⲟⲛ....

The holy [Mary], our brother *papa* Peter, the man of the South country [5]; Apa Enoch, our brother.....

Apa Enoch carries a papyrus roll(?) inscribed : ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ «the book of life». To the left and right of the Virgin's head are fragments of the names of the Archangels Michael (left) and Gabriel (right).

Under a medallion with a portrait, half destroyed : ⲡ̄ⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ «our father Apa Panesneu».

94. Inscription in red paint on dado line in room 700 F (pl. LVIII).

✠ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲯⲁⲗⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲕⲁⲑⲏⲅⲉⲧⲏⲥ

Jesus Christ, watch over Brother Apa Kyre, the singer (*ψάλτης*) and teacher (*καθηγητής*).

[1] It is highly probable that Apa alone stands for Apa Jeremias, the Founder, the more so as his dates are followed by those of Apa Enoch in the last line. Cf. n° 48, note 1. Quite recently a stone inscribed with an account of the wine required for various church festivals has been discovered at the monastery in which the largest (and equal) amounts are allotted to the festivals of «Apa» and Apa Enoch, Apa Jeremias being nowhere else mentioned. The dates of the festivals are not given, but from those which are known it is evident that the list is in chronological order and the festival of «Apa» comes next after the Baptism of Christ on Tybi 11, which quite fits in with the death day, Tybi 22, given above. There is little doubt that «Apa» in both inscriptions is the Founder.

[2] Cf. Amélineau, *Pakhôme*, p. 368; *Mon. de la Basse-Égypte*, p. 330; Leipoldt, *Schenute*, p. 116; *Chron. John of Nikiou*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 317.

[3] The number of the day of the month is omitted.

[4] For the commemoration of dates of ordination, death, etc., of a founder on the wall of a chapel, cf. that of Shenoute in the White Monastery (*Journ. Theol. Studies*, V, p. 554).

[5] Cf. n° 104, note 1.

95. Graffito over Virgin and two archangels in a niche in room 700 B.

† ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲛⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ϫⲓⲡⲉϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉϫⲱ.. ⲩⲁⲕⲁⲡⲉ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲁϫⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲉϭⲱϣ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ ⲉ...

1. ϫⲓⲡⲉϩⲙⲟⲧ, etc., cf. Hall Texts, p. 132; *Bull. Inst. fr.*, III, p. 92.

O archangel Michael confer the grace (of) God upon me (l. ⲉϫⲱⲓ) unto loving kindness (l. ⲉⲩⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ?), on me the most humble *papa* Pegosh, O God that liveth for ever (l. ⲉⲛⲉϩ?).

96. Graffito on north wall of room 700 B.

† ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲫⲏⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ...
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲗⲓⲗⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ ⲧⲙⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲟ̄ ⲱⲡⲉⲛⲏ....

1. l. ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩ(?); at end [ⲉⲣⲟⲓ]. — 2. ⲧⲙⲉ, l. ⲡⲓⲉ[ⲗ](?).

Remember me in charity, me Lilammon the humble(?) clerk....

97. Graffiti in room 700 B.

a. ⲁⲅ.ⲟⲥ ⲕⲁϫⲁ.ⲟⲥ ⲛⲟϭ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲏ.

Holy.... great martyr.

b. ✠ ⲟⲑⲥ ⲫⲟⲡⲉⲱⲛⲅ ⲛϕⲩⲍⲁ
ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ.ⲭ...ⲅⲓⲉ

God.....

98. Graffito on the walls of room 700 B.

ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲗⲓⲗⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲓⲉⲗ ⲛⲍⲩⲡⲟⲛⲟ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲟⲩ

O God, watch over Lilammon, the humble under-clerk of Apa Jeremias.....[1].

99. Graffito on stone in the floor of 700 B.

✠ ⲓ̄ⲥ ⲭ̄ⲥ ⲣⲟⲉⲓ▨
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡ▨
ⲡⲱⲛⲛⲓ▨
ⲡⲥⲉⲃⲓⲕ▨

Jesus Christ, watch (over) me, P.... the son of the ..... Vic[tor].

100. Graffito on a pillar in 700 C.

✠ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ
ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲡ
ⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ

O God, O good One remember me.

[1] The word suggests the place name ⲥⲓⲟⲟⲩⲧ (Assiût); if so, «Apa Jeremias» can only stand (as often) for a monastery of that name. If he were a person, we should expect him to be described as ⲡⲣⲙⲥⲓⲟⲟⲩⲧ.

101. Inscription in top of east capital in 700 H.

ⲬⲤ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲉ ⲁ.
ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲱ ⲛⲟⲁ

Below : ⲡⲙⲉ ‖ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ
ⲉⲡ ‖ ⲓⲉⲉⲙⲟⲩ
ⲁ. ‖ ⲡ

1. l. ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲡ. — 2. Perhaps l. ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲱⲛ ⲟ ⲁ[ⲅⲓⲟⲥ], etc.

[Jesus] Christ, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Apa Apollo...

102. On west capital in 700 H.

In red paint ☩. Below, incised inscription :

☩ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ
ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲡ
ⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
ⲕ

O God, O good One, remember me, K...

103. Black ink on plaster wall in room 700 D.

.....ϣⲱϥⲉ
....ϩⲛⲟⲟⲩ ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲡ
.....ⲉⲥⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲭⲣⲱ
....ⲉⲩ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲛⲉ.ⲭⲓ
5 ......ⲉⲃⲥ ⲛⲭⲟⲓⲧ
.....ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲣⲟⲭ
..ⲓⲭⲟⲓ.ⲱⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ☩ⲓⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲣⲱ

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ϩⲉⲛⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛϩⲟϥ...
ⲉⲩⲱⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲱϩ...
10 ϩⲓϩⲙⲟⲩ ☩ⲓⲉⲣⲟⲟ.....
ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙ....
ⲭⲉⲛⲁⲕⲣⲓⲟⲛ ϩⲓ....
ϩⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ☩ⲓⲉ....
ⲣⲱ〃
15 ϩⲉⲛⲡⲱ
ⲱⲱⲃⲉⲉ
ⲉⲃⲟⲛⲛⲉ

The columns are complete at top and bottom.

7. ☩ⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ as in *U. B. M. Kopt.*, n° 25, and Bouriant, *Fragm. d'un livre de médecine* (*Comptes rendus Acad. inscr. et belles-lettres*, 1887). — 9. ⲱⲟ... perhaps ⲱⲱⲃⲉ as in line 16. — 11. ⲡⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲙ... perhaps ⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲁⲙⲟⲙⲉ «gangrenous disease» formed on the same principle as ⲱⲉⲛⲓⲕⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ (see Von Lemm, *Kl. Kopt. St.*, XXVII, p. 232). — 12. Χὴν ἄγριος, cf. Griffith, *Demot. mag. pap.*, IV, 6, and for the use of goose-fat Z. 630 ⲱⲧ ⲛⲱⲃⲧ. — 17. l. ⲉⲩⲟⲛⲛⲩ.

.....swelling....pound them, flower of.....apply....a sick person; take .....charcoal (? ⲭⲉⲃⲥ) of olive wood....burnt(?)....of sheep(?) .....lay it on them, apply (it).

For figures of snakes (which appear to, *or* on) a sick person, flower of.....with salt; lay it on them [apply it].

For..... [fat(?) of] wild goose with .... and water; lay it on [them, ap]ply.

Wounds (?ⲡⲱⲗϩ) ..... gherkin(?) ..... pounded....

This is an extract from a collection of medical prescriptions such as we have in Z. 629.

104. Inscribed in black paint under row of figures (in room 705).

ⲡⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲛⲛⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈ ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲥ

This our brother Peter who belongs to our house in the South country [1].

105. Graffiti on door post in room 705.

ⲑ ⲃ ⲭ ⲕ ⲑ ⲍ̈ Ξ ⲝ̇ Ξ
ⅠⅠⅠ ⲑ ⲡ ⲑ ⲕ Ξ ⲯ Ξ
ⲕ ⅠⅠⅠ ⲗ ⲝ ⲯ Ξ . ⲟ ⲱ
ⲡ ⲍ̣ ⅠⅠⅠ ⲑ ⲏ ⲓ ⲥ ⲏ ⲭ
ⅠⅠⅠ ⲑ ⲭ Ξ ⲏ ⲗ

1. For ⲃ, l. ⲍ. — 4. For ⲏⲓ, l. ⲓⲓⲓ.

This cryptogram reads as follows :

ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ | ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲡⲉ ⲧⲉ | ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ .ⲗ.|ⲕⲱ ⲛⲁⲛⲱⲃⲓ | ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟ[ⲗ]

Remember me in charity and may God ... forgive me my sins.

The system used is a common one, differing only slightly from that given by Gardthausen, *Griech. Palaeogr.*, p. 235. Cf. n° 141 and Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, n° 669.

106. Red colour on plaster wall of room 706.
Above row of heads on plate XI, 3.

1 ⲡⲍⲗⲗⲉ ⲙⲁⲕⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲁ
2 ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲡⲗⲗ̈ⲟⲥ
3 ☩ ⲥⲱⲣ ⲡⲣ̄ⲫⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
4 ⲉⲓⲥⲓⲧⲟⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲫⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
5 ....ⲟⲥⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲫⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
6 ..ⲣⲏⲧ ⲡⲣ̄ⲫⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
7 ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲣ̄ⲫⲣ[ⲟⲉ]ⲓⲥ
8 ⲇ[ⲁⲩ]ⲉⲓⲇ
9 ⲁⲡ.ⲁⲱⲡⲏⲣ ⲡ[ⲣⲫ]ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
10 .ⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲱⲧⲟⲱ ⲡ[ⲣ̄ⲫ]ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
11 ⲥⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁ[ⲥ] ⲡⲣ̄ⲫ.....

2. He is holding a mason's hammer. Cf. n° 13 (p. 32, note 6). — 5. [ⲡⲁⲡ]ⲟⲥⲉ, cf. Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, n°s 1089, 1199; *A. Z.*, XL, p. 61.

The lame Makente Mena(?), the brother Mena the mason, ☩ Hor the watchman, Isidore the watchman, Papohe(?) the watchman, ..ret the watchman, Jeremias the watchman, David, Apa Ashper(?) the watchman, Apa Pashtosh the watchman, Zacharias the watchman(?).

[1] Can this (apparently) affiliated house in the South country be the monastery of Apa Jeremias which lay a little to the south of Antinoe? (cf. *Corp.Pap. Rain.*, II, n° LXXXVI). Cf. also n°s 93, 149, 157. For ⲡⲛ̄ⲏⲓ̈, cf. n° 148, *c*.

107. Graffito in black below the heads of watchmen in room 706.

✠ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲉ .ⲓ.....ⲓⲁ
ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲡⲉ ⲉⲙⲕⲏ
ⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲓ...ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲉⲥ
ⲙⲟⲓ

✠ I, Paul.....remember me in charity....and may God....raise me up.

108. Inscriptions over heads on west wall of room 706.

a. ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲃⲣⲁ
ϩⲁⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲥⲁⲓ

b. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲏ
ⲙⲓⲁⲥ

a. My brother Abraham, their son...

b. Apa Jeremias.

c. ☩ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ .ⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲛⲁϥⲣ̄ ϩⲟⲥ
ⲥⲓⲧⲟⲭⲟⲥ ⲡⲕⲗⲓⲁⲙⲉⲟⲥ

c. My brother Zacharias, the son of Apa Nafr.....the potter (? *κεραμεύς*).

109. Graffito on wall in room 706.

ⲟⲩⲧ
ⲥⲥ..ⲏⲛⲁ ⲓ̄ⲥ ⲡ▨
ⲛⲉⲧⲓⲁⲕⲟⲩⲛⲓⲁ
ⲉⲟⲩⲗⲓⲓⲧⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲕⲇ. ⲡⲉϩⲁⲙ/ⲓⲓⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲁ

110. Graffito in black chalk in niche in north wall of room 706.

✠ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲛⲛ▨
ⲥⲁⲩⲓⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲗⲗⲉ▨
✠ ⲓⲭⲏⲛⲁⲁⲛⲡ▨ⲩϩⲁⲡ
ⲙⲏ..ⲛⲱⲧ-ⲓⲓ ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓⲉ

In red paint, by another hand :

ⲓⲉⲣⲉⲙⲓⲁⲥ
ⲓⲡⲥⲥⲟⲡⲁ

✠ I, Papn[oute(?)]... ✠ ..... Jeremias, bishop(?) (l. ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲉ?).

111. Graffito on stair n° 711.

ⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲁⲓⲟⲥⲧⲣⲟϕ··ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲁⲡⲓ ⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁ/ ⲛⲁⲙⲓⲣ/ ⲏ
ⲛ.
...ⲣⲥ ⲙⲉⲅⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲉⲥⲡ ⲁⲟⲅⲍ ⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲙⲱ ⲓⲛ

....watch [over me] John..... Elp...as the most noble (*εὐκλεέστατος*) emir..... great..... the lord, (the) chancellor[1].. Diostrophes(?) on the 2nd day.... ..... the month of Mechir, in[diction]...

[1] *Λογοθέτης* usually a controller of a department in the Byzantine Empire, later the title given to the head of the Imperial Chancery, *vide* Ducange, *Gloss. med. inf. graec.* s. v.

112. Painted on wall of room 712.

Between the arms of a cross in a circular border.

ϹΩϹΟΝ
ΝΙΚΑ

An invocation to the Saviour frequently found e.g. *Ann. Serv.*, VIII, p. 81; Hall, *Texts*, p. 136; Pellegrini, in *Bessarione*, ann. XII, fasc. 97-99, reprint p. 19; Strzygowski, *Kopt. Kunst*, p. 119.

113. Graffito in red paint on wall in room 722.

ΜΠΑϹ..
ϹΟΝ ϕΙϐ ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΜΑ..
ΪϵΡΗΜΙΑϹ ΝϵΝϹΝΗ
ΜΜΑΑ.Μ

....brother Phib the father of the infirmary(?) [1], Jeremias....

114. Graffiti on fragments of plaster fallen from wall of 722.

a. ..ΘϵΟΦΙΛΟ..
..ΜΑΙΠϵΤ...

b. ΤΑ.ΝΙϹ
ΠΜΑΝ..
ΑΜΗΜ

...Theophilus.....the refectory(?) [2]...Amen.

115. Inscription in black below medallions in room 707.

ϵΝΝϵΡΟΜΠϵ ΝϵΝΙΟ.....
ϵΥΜϵΝΟϹ : Ϊ¯ : ΜΑΡΚΪΑΝΟϹ·Κ.ΛΛΑΔ
ΠϵΤΡΟΥ : Ϊ.. : ΑΧΪΛΛΑ. ϵΝΟΥϢ.....
ΑΘΑΝΑϹΪΟΥ : Η : ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Θ : ΚϵΪΩΑΝΝ.....
.ϵΙ..ΜΙϹ : Α/ Α^ΓΑ...ΪΗϩ.....

List] of the years (of) our fathers.....
Eumenos, 13 : Marcianus.Kellad[ion]....
of Peter, 11(?) : of Achillas.....
of Athanasius, 8 : of John, 9 : the other John.....
of [B]enjamin, 3[9(?)] : of Aga[thon].....

This is a fragment of a list of the patriarchs of Alexandria, with their years of rule and had it been complete, it would have afforded valuable information as to the date of the inscription and consequently of the room on the wall of which it was written. Unfortunately the end of the inscription is missing. There remain the beginnings of five lines, but it is evident that the lines were very long and only a small portion of them remains. For lists of the patriarchs see Renaudot,

[1] ΠΜΑΝϵΤΩΩΝϵ(?). Cf. n^os 2, 69, 117.
[2] ΠΜΑΝΟΥΩΜ(?); or the infirmary, ΠΜΑΝϵΤΩΩΝϵ.

Hist. Patr. Alex.; Kircher, *Lingua aeg. rest.*, p. 518; Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 395; Evetts, *Hist. of the Patriarchs* (*Patrologia Orient.*, I); *Rec. trav.*, VII, p. 92; Crum, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, n° 43.

Perhaps ⲧⲏⲡ]ⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ was the original heading. There are six names missing before Eumenos, which with their years of rule give us the approximate length of the lines.

ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ, usually ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ, in Eus., *H. E.*, IV, 5 *εὐμενής*. He ruled 13 years, read ⲓⲅ.

ⲙⲁⲣⲕⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ, so nearly always (Eus., *H. E.*, IV, 11 *μάρκος*). He ruled 10 years.

ⲕ.ⲗⲗⲁ the last two letters very uncertain. The inscription has disappeared together with the wall and only Mr. Quibell's hand copy remains. The name varies in spelling : Celadion (*κελαδίων*) Renaudot, Eus., *H. E.*, IV, 11; ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲁⲇⲓⲟⲥ (*Rec. tr. u. s.*); ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲁⲧⲓⲁ[ⲛⲟⲥ] Crum, *u. s.*; ⲕⲉⲗⲁⲩⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ, Kircher. After him seven names are missing.

ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩ, *i. e.* Peter I the martyr; he ruled 11-12 years, read ⲓⲁ or ⲓⲃ.

ⲁⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁ, Achillas, Renaudot : ⲁⲭⲏⲗⲗⲁⲥ; Crum, *u. s.* ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲗⲗⲁⲥ Kircher, ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲗⲗⲁ(ⲥ) *Rec. tr. u. s.* He ruled six months and was succeeded by Alexander. This renders the word ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱ difficult of explanation.

After Achillas eight names are missing.

ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲩ, *i. e.* Athanasius II. He is usually credited with 7 years from A. D. 488-494. Here his years are said to be eight.

ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲟⲩ, *i. e.* John I A. D. 494-503.

ⲕⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛ[ⲟⲩ], John II A. D. 503-515. After John II seven names are missing.

[ⲃ]ⲉⲛ[ⲓⲁ]ⲙⲓⲥ = *Βενιαμινος*, the patriarch of the Arab invasion A. D. 622-661 (Butler, *Arab conquest*, p. 501-505, fixes the date of his accession as probably Jan. 3. 623), ruled 38 or 39 years. The second cipher is missing here.

ⲁⲅⲁ... Agathon who succeeded Benjamin seems to have ruled 16 years dying in 677 when he was succeeded by John of Samanûd.

The meaning of the last letters ⲓⲏ2 is not clear.

116. Graffito on wall in room 727.

ⲡⲉⲭⲥ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲉ....ⲡⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ

O Christ, watch over me, Paone.. who belong to the refectory.

117. Graffito in red paint on wall in room 729.

.ⲡⲁ ⲁⲃⲣⲁ2ⲁⲙ ☩
ⲛⲟ.ⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲛⲓⲁ
ⲓⲱ2ⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁⲣⲣⲟⲩ

[A]pa Abraham ☩
The oeconomus(?) and the father of the infirmary(?) [1]; John the clerk(?) [2].

[1] l. ⲙⲡⲙⲁ[ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲱⲛⲉ](?). Cf. n°s 2, 69, 113.
[2] ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ(?).

118. Stone block with ink graffito from church (752).

✝ ⲟ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲉⲣⲓⲙ. . .
. ⲁⲙⲙⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲁ. . . .
. ⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲛϕⲟⲩ. .

O holy Apa Jeremias. . . . Ammonius. . . . .

119. Graffito in yellow ink on stone block from a wall in church (752).

✝ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ
ⲡⲯⲁⲗⲙⲱⲧⲟⲥ

Apa George, the precentor.

ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲱⲧⲟⲥ, cf. ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲱⲇⲟⲥ, Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, p. 233; Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 223; Budge, *St. Michael*, p. 62.

120. Graffito on stone from a wall in church (752).

ⲙⲓⲁⲥ
ⲩ ⲥⲓⲃⲁ
ⲩⲁⲕⲁ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧ
ⲛⲅⲉⲱ
ⲁⲱϫⲟⲛⲥ
(?)
ⲏⲛ✝ ϥⲑ
ⲕ̄ⲅ

. . . . .[Apa Jere]mias . . . .[our mothe]r Sibylla (l. ⲥⲓⲃⲁ[ⲁ]) . . . . . love (l. ⲟⲩⲁⲕⲁⲡⲏ) . . . . God. . . . . of George [who died on the — day of P]ashons. . . . . [Am]en, Amen. 23 [1].

121. Graffiti scratched on limestone fragments of the wall of church (752).

a. ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲱϩⲉⲛⲓ. .ϥⲛⲉⲥ
✝

Enoch the son of John (? l. ⲓⲱϩⲁⲛⲉⲥ).

b. ⲡⲉ. .ⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲓ
. ⲛⲱⲕ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓ ⲣⲱⲙⲥ

O Christ (l. ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄), have (l. ⲁⲣⲓ) in remembrance me (l. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) George. . . .

[1] Probably the age of the deceased, cf. n° 81.

122. Inscription in black ink beside painted figure on a pillar in church (752).

✠ CTЄ
ϕANOC
ƨHΠOΔI
AK̊/ ΠP
ЧѠЧ
MN̄ CЄ
ϒHPOC
ΠЄЧѠ
NOC ✠

✠ Stephen, (the) subdeacon, the lector [1], and Severus his.....

123. Red paint on wall in church (753).

ΠACON ΓЄѠ[PΓЄ]
ΠAΠMANOϒѠ[M]

My brother George, who belongs to the refectory [2].

124. Stone block with scratched graffiti from church (753).

✠ ΠNOϒTЄ APIOϒNA
TЄ⸗ϒXH ΠΔAK
XѠѠPЄ ƨA

O God, have mercy on the soul of the deacon (l. ΠΔIAK/) Djoore. A[men].

125. Graffito scratched on stone block from church (753).

✠ CTЄϕHNAKI
✠ O AΠOC
HP̄TPЄΠЄN

✠ Stephenaki(?) ✠ the apos[tle(?)]....martyr (? l. MP̄TPЄ), our....

126. Graffito on stone block of west wall of church (753).

✠ ΓЄѠPΓIOC M̄H
MHNA
AΠOΔΘIMANAX̄

✠ George ..... monk(?).

[1] ΠP̄ϥѠѠ = *ἀναγνώστης*, cf. Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, p. 264 n.
[2] Cf. n°s 13, 64, 116.

127. Ink graffito on fragment of pillar in room 753.

✠ κ̄ε ō̄θ
ϵγcπλαχν
ϵλϵнcon
λπλ

1. l. *κύριε ὁ Θεός*. — 2. *εὐσπλαγχνε*.

O Lord God, compassionate One, have mercy (on) Apa ...

128. Graffito scratched on stone block from north-west of church (754).

μακρ
νλ2
μιν
λπχο
κιρ
τοκ
coγπιϵ
ī̄c χ̄c λριογνλ ινϵ
ϥλρακн
.ογρι
μλρλμλ2ιρλ
παπαγλϵ χι2ϥ
μιχλнλ
ϵχ

Too fragmentary for translation.

129. Graffiti on a broken shaft in the north-west corner of church (754).

a. ανοκ πϵ
ϣϵνογτι
cαμπλ

b. гϵ
ωρ
гϵ

I, Shenouti, seller (?) of .... George.

130. Block with rudely scratched graffiti from room 755.

.νοκνοϣϵνοτϵπλλϵ
μϵcιϥϵρϵπλτϵπακλ
λοcλγωμλνρωμϵ
ιλϵνϭνλμϵτϵ☩λγ
]φγχλϛλρ.ϵτοοτϵ

This ill written graffito suggests some such reconstruction as this : ανοκ πνο ϣϵνογτϵ πατϵ.... ϵρϵπνογτϵ παγλθος λγω μαιρωμϵ ρ̄ογνοϭ ñνλ μϵντϵ☩γχн.....

I, the clerk Shenoute, belonging to ..., may God the good and man-loving, have great mercy on the soul of .....

131. Graffito scratched on stone in room 756.

πνογτϵ ντλϥϵμ.. ιβρλ2ιμ
ϵкϵcмо. ϵνϵι..
.оп

O God, who hast .... Ibrahim, thou wilt bless these .... (lit. : «who hath .... he will ....»).

132. Ink inscription on limestone slab in room 764.

† ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲣⲛⲉϩ
ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲛⲧ.ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ
ϩⲁⲙⲉⲃⲥⲁⲙⲓⲥⲓⲛⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ✠

† I, Victor the Less, who attend to the oil-press [1]; keep me in remembrance, and may God bring my end forth (l. ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) in the house of Apa (? l. ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲓ ⲛⲁⲡⲁ) [2]. Amen ✠.

133. Graffiti on south wall of room 773.

ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲕⲁⲩⲓ
ⲡⲓⲛⲕⲉⲣⲛⲉⲥ..

Victor I, Victor the Less (l. ⲕⲟⲩⲓ?), (the) butler [3].

ⲓⲥ ⲭⲥ ✠ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲁⲕⲟⲓⲡⲉ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲙⲟⲛ ⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲩⲡⲟⲛⲟⲧⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲧ....

Jesus Christ ✠ watch over me in charity (l. ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ), me the monk (l. ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲁⲭⲟⲥ) Shenoute, under-clerk....

Further to the west :

✠ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲡϩⲩⲡⲟⲛⲟ̄ⲧ̄ ⲙⲛⲉⲛⲱⲭ
ⲡⲥⲓⲟⲟⲛ ⲙⲛⲥⲉⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲛⲟ̄ⲧ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ
ⲙⲛ̄ ⲓⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲟⲛ ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲉⲟⲑⲗ - ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛⲁϩⲟϥ :
ⲉⲣ.ⲟϥⲛⲁⲣⲁⲡⲙⲣ/
ⲑⲱⲑⲓ.ⲁⲩⲣ/

I, Mena, the under-clerk and Enoch, the ....., and Sergius the clerk, his brother and Jeremias his elder brother (l. ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ) ..... Jesus Christ [4]....

To right of this :

✠ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲓⲉⲗ

I, the humblest.

Further to right :

✠ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲏⲥⲟⲛ

Jesus Christ, help!

[1] Cf. *Corp. Pap. Rain.*, II, n° CCXLIV; Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, n° 1107.

[2] Cf. Clédat, *Baouît*, p. 25 : ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ. The «house of Apa» = the monastery of Saint Jeremias, cf. n°s 48, 91.

[3] Lat. *pincerna*. Cf. n° 155, and Ducange *s. v.* πιγκέρνης.

[4] The last two lines seem to contain a date in the «years of the martyrs — Thoth»; but I cannot explain it.

134. Painted inscription on west wall of room 773.

ⲡⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲛ ⲓ̈ⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲕⲟⲟⲣⲉ
ⲡⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲛ ⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲩⲓⲛϩⲱⲣ
ⲡⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲩ.. ⲡⲉϥⲁ. ⲡ̄ⲡⲙ...ⲡⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲡ

Below :

ⲛⲃⲱⲭⲟⲇⲟⲛⲟⲥⲟⲣ ⲇⲟⲩⲗⲟⲥ

Our brother John, the feller (of trees) (?).
Our brother Shenoute, son of (? l. ⲫⲛ) Hor.
Our brother Apa Kyre (?), the teacher (?) of (?) the .... , our brother P...
Nebochodonosor. Servant.

135. Graffiti on plaster of wall of room 773.

☩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉⲡⲓⲫⲁⲧⲉⲕ
I, ...

About 0 m. 40 cent. below :

☩ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ$^{\text{ⲧ}}$ ⲡⲁⲓ $\overset{\text{ⲑ}}{\text{ⲁ}}$ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲁⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲣⲟϩ...ⲕⲱ...

O good (l. ⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ) and loving (= *φιλάνθρωπος*) God .....

Close by :

ⲛⲁⲣⲛⲓⲕⲣⲟⲥⲥ

In black ink near door :

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲓ̈..ⲁ.ⲏⲥ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈
ⲡⲟⲣⲉⲁⲣ

I, John (?) the Less, ...

136. Inscription in red paint on wall of room 773.

	ⲙⲏ	ⲁⲧⲁⲉ
	ⲛⲉϩ	ⲩⲁⲙⲁⲥⲓ
	ⲡⲉⲧ	ⲩⲟⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓ
	ⲙⲟⲟⲩ	ⲙⲏⲛ
5	ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ	....

Too fragmentary for reconstruction.

137. Graffito from room 773.

ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲛ
ⲡⲛⲟ$^{\text{ⲧ}}$ ⲡⲁⲓⲥ.ⲣⲱ
...ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ̈ .ⲁⲓ
ϩⲁⲙⲡⲟ.....

O God, watch over our brother .... the clerk, this (?) ....
O God, watch over me, this (?) .....

138. Graffito in red on block from room 773.

ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡⲣⲉϥ
ⲣⲱⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲛⲫⲱ . . ⲛⲡⲱ
ⲑⲓⲡⲉⲟⲟⲉⲟ

My brother, Enoch, the watchman ....

139. Graffito on pillar in room 773.

ⲁ
ⲡⲥ
ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ
ⲛⲏⲛⲁⲥⲟ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ

ⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲙⲛ̄
ⲧⲉⲯⲏⲭⲩ ⲅⲓⲁ
ⲱⲛ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ
ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲛⲅⲱⲭ
ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲣⲟⲟⲩ

..... O God, O good One, have mercy on the soul of my brother (l. ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ̄) George the father of ..... [1], my brother Nahroou.

140. Graffiti on west side of south door in room 775.

a. In large black letters :

ⲁⲗⲉⲍ
ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ

Alex(ander), Enoch the Less.

b. In large red letters :

ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲡ ⲡ

Enoch ...

141. Graffito in black ink inside door on north side of room 775.

ⲁⲍⲕⲥⲑⲭⲍⲕⲭⲗⲭⲯ〓
ⲭⲫⲥⲥⲕⲑⲭⲗⲡⲏϥⲡ
ⲯⲥⲥⲕϥ〓ⲟⲑⲩϥⲱⲯⲟⲱ
ⲭⲁⲃⲡ〓ⲑⲥⲓⲕⲑⲍ〓
ⲗⲭ〓ⲭⲑⲍⲃⲭ

This cryptogram reads as follows :

ⲥⲙⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ | ⲛⲱⲱⲣⲡ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲃⲓⲕ | ⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ | ⲛⲥⲏⲕⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉ | ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲏⲛ

In the name of God before all things, I Victor the humble poor man, remember me. Amen [2].

[1] The title ⲡⲓⲱⲧ suggests that ⲡⲁⲛⲅⲱⲭ is some part of the monastery. Cf. n° 48, note 1.

[2] In the last line ⲭ (= ⲛ) should be ⲁ (= ⲥ), giving ⲥⲁⲙⲏⲛ. The alphabet is the same as in n° 105, except that here ⲭ (instead of ⲓⲓⲓ) = ⲛ.

142. Inscription in large red letters on west side of buttress in room 775.

ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ
ⲓⲱⲥⲏⲫ
ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁⲛ

Jacob, Joseph, Papnute ....

143. On plaster of wall of room 782.

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
ⲱⲱϩ
ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙⲉⲩⲉ
ⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲡⲙⲟⲛⲟ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲟ
ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ
ⲡⲁ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ

The ends of the lines are incomplete.

I, ... the lector (? l. ⲡⲣⲫⲱⲱ) .... remember [me], brother Papnoute, the monk, O God, forgive [me] .... Amen, Amen.

144. On stone of wall from room 792 in black ink.

☩ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ
ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ
ⲡⲁⲧⲣ..ⲓⲛⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ
ⲡⲱⲉⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲍⲁⲡⲅ

☩ Jesus Christ, watch (over) my brother Pamoun (l. ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ), my brother George the Less, Patr..ine the Less [1], the son of Apa Z...

145. Inscription «near the drawing of Saint Theodore» in room 1703.

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲱⲟ ⲧⲡⲁⲥ
ⲁⲙⲱⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲩⲉ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁ
ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϩⲁⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲁⲛ..ⲩⲟⲣ.ⲡⲙⲏⲧⲁϩⲁ
ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ : ⲧⲁ̅ⲓ.ⲑⲁ.ⲣⲉ
ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲧⲉ ⲫ̅ⲃ̅ ⲛⲉ
ⲟ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲑⲉⲟⲇⲱⲣ▨ ⲙⲁⲣⲥ

Apa Shoi (?) ..... my brother (?) ..... carpenter, remember me, remember (?) me and may God bring me to a good (?) end [2] .... the (?) end of the brethren [3] ..... the fathers. Amen ..... Saint Theodore....

[1] The inscription, if one may judge from the hand copy, is very irregularly written. Possibly there are no missing letters in this line and it should be read ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲓ «he who belongs to the department of the children», *i. e.* the monastic school. Cf. n° 48, note 1.

[2] l. ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲛⲁⲫ (?), cf. n° 90, note 8.

[3] This suggests the Bawit formula quoted in n° 132, note 2, but I do not see how to read it into the text.

146. Graffiti on jambs of door in room 1706.

Brown ink :

ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲍⲁⲣⲱⲛ ⲙ

I, Aaron..

Faint black ink :

✢ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ
ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲓⲱⲥ
ⲏⲫ ⲡ..ⲱϣ ⲍⲁⲙⲏ
ⲛ ✢

✢ O God, watch over me in charity, me Joseph the Nubian [1], Amen ✢.

Black ink :

☩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲓⲗⲁ
ⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲧ

I, the humble....

Scratched :

ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲁⲕ
ⲛⲁ

Enoch (the) Less, the deacon.

Scratched : ⲃⲗ̣ⲟⲩⲫⲁⲛⲉ.

✢ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲭ̅ⲥ̅
ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ⲁⲛⲟⲕ
ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲫⲁⲙϣⲉ

Jesus Christ, watch (over) me Koui, the carpenter.

147. Graffito on jamb of door (3rd door north side) in room 1706.

☩ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲁⲡⲣⲟ
ⲡⲉⲣϥⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ

Makare the Less, the door-keeper, the watchman.

148. Inscriptions on south pilaster of room 1706.

a. ⲟⲩⲏⲓⲗⲉϥⲉⲃⲣⲉⲓⲙ

b. ✢ ⲓ̈ⲱⲥⲏⲫ ⲡⲉⲃⲱϣ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲉⲧ̣
ⲭⲓⲭ .\ ⲛⲟⲥ̣ⲧ̣ⲉ

Joseph the Nubian the Less, who(?).... (Cf. nos 89, 146.)

c. ....ⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ
ⲓⲥ ⲭⲥ ⲣⲟ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲕⲟⲗ
ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲛⲣⲉϥⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲏ̈

....watch over me; Jesus Christ, watch (?) (over) me Colluthus (?) the Less the humble (?) watchman of our house.

[1] The space is rather large for ⲉⲥ only, but cf. nos 89, 148; otherwise it might be ⲡⲣϥⲱϣ.

d. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲉ
ⲱⲙ

Apa Makare, the younger(?).

149. Graffito on north pilaster of room 1706.

⌗ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲣⲟ....
ⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ...ⲉⲡ
ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲣⲏⲥ.....
ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲁⲙ.... ⲛⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ
ⲡⲣⲉϥⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ.....ⲕⲟⲩⲡ
ⲣⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲕⲧⲱ ⲙⲛⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ
ⲡⲛⲟⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ—ⲉⲙⲓ̈ ⲡⲁⲩ.ⲕⲏⲓ
⌗

Jesus Christ, watch.... me .... of the South..... of Victor the watchman..... Koupre the....[1] and Victor the Less, the clerk.....

150. Inscription in purple ink on pillar in room 1706.

ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲭ̅ⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲉⲛⲱⲭ ⲁⲙⲁ ⲥⲓⲃⲩⲗⲗⲁ
ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲗⲉϫⲁⲛⲇⲣⲟⲥ
ⲡⲁⲣ̈/ⲙⲁⲛ̈ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲛⲏⲩⲙ̈
ⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓ̈ⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲉⲥ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲁ
ⲡⲛⲟ̈ ⲡⲱⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲉ
ⲡⲥⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲛⲥⲟⲛ
ⲗⲓⲗⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲛⲟ̈ ☩

Jesus Christ, Apa Jeremias, Apa Enoch, Ama Sibylla, watch over our God-loving father, Apa Alexander[2] the Archimandrite and Abbot, and over Apa John and Apa George, the priors, and Mena the clerk, the son of the blessed Apa Kyre(?)[3], the brother of our father[4], and our brother Lilammon[5] the clerk ☩.

151. Graffito on a pillar from room 1706.

ⲙⲛⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲓ̈ⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲡⲛⲟ̈
ⲙⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ ⲡⲛⲟ̈
ⲙⲛⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲛⲟ̈

And our brother Isaac the clerk, and Apollo the Less the clerk and Jeremias the Less the clerk.

[1] l. ⲡϩⲟⲕϫⲱ(?) «the bald» or «with the shaven head».

[2] Cf. n° 1, note 1. The same combination of titles we find in his successor David (Revillout, *Actes et Contrats*, n°s 4, 8, 9). According to Stern (*A. Z.*, XXIII, p. 147) «als Vorsteher der Kirche ist er Hegumenos und als der des Klosters Archimandrit».

[3] ⲕⲉ by itself is not a name but it is a frequent abbreviation for *κύριε* «O Lord» and hence may have been used for the name ⲕⲩⲣⲉ, especially as *κύριος* is frequently spelt *κυρος*.

[4] *I. e.* the brother of the Archimandrite, and Mena was his nephew.

[5] An uncommon name, occurs also in n° 98, presumably the same individual. Probably ⲗⲓⲗⲁⲙⲟⲩ (Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, index) is another form of it.

152. Graffito in red paint on block of stone in 1709.

ⲧⲉⲅⲗⲉⲥⲓ

The church (ἐκκλησία, probably a mason's memorandum).

153. Graffito on east face of door in 1714.

ⲣⲁⲡⲉ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲓⲁϫ . . .
ⲁⲣⲓ

. . . rape the Less the. . . . have [mercy on my soul or remembrance of me].

154. Graffito on plaster of wall near door of 1714.

ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲛⲅ
ⲁⲕⲱⲁⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϩⲛ
ⲛⲁϥⲛⲁ . . . ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲉⲗ
ⲉⲣⲉⲡϥϩⲁⲛ . ⲁⲕ
ⲛⲁⲙ . . ⲟⲓ
ⲛⲡⲉⲕ

155. Graffiti on the walls of room 1714.

a. ✠ ⲁ̀ⲛⲟⲕ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲓⲛⲕⲉⲣⲛⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ✠ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ

I, Victor, (the) butler [1] of our father [2]. Amen.

b. ✠ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲟⲛⲥ

O Lord, know (l. ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) my. . .

c. ✠ ⲡⲉϫ̄ⲥ ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲛⲉⲓ . . ⲛϩⲓⲡⲟⲛⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲁⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ
ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ ✠

✠ O Christ, watch over us in love, us the humble under-clerks(?) [3] Apollo, and Victor the Less; remember me in charity ✠.

156. Graffito written within a red border on wall of room 1715.

ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁⲥ
. . ⲱϫ ⲕⲟⲩⲓ
ⲡⲣⲉϥⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ

Holy Apa. . . Enoch the Less, the watchman.

[1] Cf. n° 133. — [2] *I. e.* the Abbot. — [3] l. ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲗ/ ⲛϩⲩⲡⲟⲛⲟ̄ⲥ̄(?).

157. Red paint on limestone block (sebakh).

✝ ιερημιας .ογτ
φαμωε μαρηc
μεννφ..νητ
αρκαϊϊα
ϒτε ροειc ερ̣ο̣ϒ̣
ϩαμην ✝

Jeremias the Less(?) [1] the carpenter (of) the South country [2] and the....of the work (εργαcια?) O God(?), watch over them. Amen.

C. — OSTRACA.

158. Ostracon from room 700 K.

ammone
μμνα̣ πιϩμοϒ
πκερϩε ιαζανεc
φιβ π. απα κλοϒχ̣
ς
ανοϒπ μαν̣ε
φοιβαμων πκ. ρ
τοϒρcιν
απλω πιβω̄c

Ammonius, Mena(?) the salt-seller(?) [3], the bald [4] John, Phib, the papa(?) Colluthus, 6. Anoup the herd(?), Phoebammon the.., Toursin, Apollo the....

159. Ostracon from room 700 K.

πεϭωϣ ναϩαμ
ιcακ ματοι
ιωϩανμc πϣοι ν̣
ανοϒιι απα νοϭ
ιεα

3. l. ιωϩανηc.

Pegosh.....[5], Isaac (the) soldier, John, Pshoi(?) [6]..Anoup, (the) great Apa, Isa(ac?) [7].

[1] l. κοϒι(?).

[2] Cf. n°s 93, 104.

[3] Cf. n° 89 (p. 54, note 7).

[4] A bohairic word; cf. Lemm, *Kl. Kopt. Stud.*, XXVI, p. 230; Amélineau, *M. A. F.*, IV, p. 119.

[5] The word is ϩαμ; cf. n°s 161, 163, and ν must be the connective particle. The word ϩαμ is new as far as I know. Perhaps it is a nick name from ϩωμ «eagle(-nosed), aquiline».

[6] Either a proper name, as often, or perhaps descriptive, «the elongated, lanky» (pseudop. of ϣιαι, e.g. *Isai*, v, 18).

[7] It is possible to read νανοϒπαπα νοϭ «the great Apa is excellent», but probably it was not so intended. I suspect the writer has noted down the names of four of his friends with satirical nicknames.

160. Ostracon from room 700 K.

ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲫⲱⲫ
ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲉ ⲕⲁⲛϫⲱϫ
ⲕⲅⲓⲁⲁⲧⲉⲣⲥⲱ
ⲙⲁⲕⲓⲧⲟⲛⲥ
5 ⲅ

Papnoute the...., Makare Kandjodj [1], ... Macedonius(?), 3.

161. Ostracon.

ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲁϩⲁⲙ
ⲙⲏⲛⲁ ⲡⲓⲟ ϩⲟⲩⲥ
ⲡⲱⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲁⲗⲟⲥⲉ
ⲡⲙⲉⲗⲉ ⲡⲱⲟⲓ
5 ⲕ

Mena.....[2], Mena the..., the son of Theodosius, the...., the lanky(?) [3], 20.

162. Ostracon.

ⲡⲡⲁ ⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲁϩⲁⲛⲏⲥ
ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲁⲑⲉ
ⲡⲓⲗⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ
5 ⲇ

Papa George, Apa John, Colluthus, Philotheos, 4.

163. Ostracon.

.....
ⲓⲥⲁⲕ ⲣⲉⲫⲟ
ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲱⲛⲉⲛⲱϫ
ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲉ ⲁϩⲁⲙ
5 ⲡⲁⲡⲙⲁⲛϩⲁⲕⲓⲛ
ⲓⲏ

Isaac...., Peter the son of Enoch, Paul....[4], who belongs to the doctor's(?) [5] house, 18.

[1] N. pr.(?). Cf. Crum, *B. M. Cat.*, p. 448 and n. 16 ib.
[2] Cf. note 3 above.
[3] Cf. note 4 above.
[4] Cf. note 3 above.
[5] (?) حاكم.

164. Ostracon from room 705.

✝ ϵⲓⲥⲡⲓⲍϵ
ⲡⲟⲩⲱ2ⲡϵ
ⲡⲭⲟⲓ̈ⲥ ⲁⲩ
2ⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲓⲥ ⳨
ⲧⲁⲧⲏϵⲥⲣ

Behold.....is the dwelling (of) the Lord, which is [1] through Jesus Christ....

165. Ostracon from room 729.

.ⲟⲩⲏ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲙⲏⲛⲁ
ⲙ⳨ⲑ
ⲁⲛϕⲏ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓϵⲣⲏⲙⲓⲁⲥ
ⲁⲏⲥⲱⲥⲛⲁⲩ
ⲁⲙ†: ⲟⲩⲁ
ⲧⲩ..

166. Ostracon from room 782 (pl. XLII, 3).

2ⲁ.ⲟⲩⲱⲭⲁⲣⲁ⁂.ⲁⲗⲗⲣⲁ
*ⲁⲗⲓ2ⲁ.ⲓ: ⲟⲩⲙⲓ.ⲑ
ⲑⲁⲣⲙⲙⲁⲛ2ⲁⲗⲭⲡⲁ
2ⲁ.ⲓⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓⲥⲧⲟⲩⲣ
ⲓϥⲁ2ⲟϥⲙ.ⲃ.ⲙⲡ
.ⲁⲣⲁ.ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲏⲛ
....ⲙⲁⲣⲁ

167. Ostracon from room 1706.

2ⲉⲛⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲡⲓⲱⲧ
ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲙ
ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲃ: ⲃⲉⲛⲉⲣⲕⲓ̈ 2ⲓⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲛⲉϥ
ⲡⲣⲱ. ⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲓ̄ⲥ ⲭ̄ⲥ ⲡⲉⲙ
ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙⲉⲑⲩ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲛ ⲉϥⲱⲱⲛⲉ
ⲕⲁⲑⲱⲗⲓⲕⲏ ⲛⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲧ..ⲁⲁⲕ†ⲡⲉⲕ
2ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲱ.ⲉⲣⲁⲓⲉⲣ.. ⲡⲉⲛⲡⲛⲓⲓⲩ.

In the name of the Father, the Son and (the) Spirit of Him [2] who worketh by [3] the mouth (of) his holy prophets, Jesus Christ the .... the Lord; remember the sick brother (the) catholic church [4] for whom(?) [5] thou didst give thy [6] for her and.....

[1] l. ⲉϥ(?).

[2] It is difficult not to think that ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲃ is somehow corrupted from ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ. Then a fresh sentence would begin. ⲃⲉⲛⲉⲣⲕⲓ̈ (= ϥⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓ) «he worketh». As it stands the colon and the following ⲃ have to be suppressed in order to translate.

[3] 2ⲓⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ, etc., should be 2ⲓⲧⲛ̄ or ⲉⲃⲟⲗ2ⲓⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ (*Luke*, I, 70).

[4] Can this be a reference to persecution by the Arabs?

[5] l. ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲁⲕ† (?).

[6] The substantive is omitted, presumably ⲥⲛⲟϥ «blood» or ⲥⲱⲙⲁ «body», unless it is corrupted from ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲁⲕⲧⲁⲁⲕ 2ⲁⲣⲟⲥ (cf. *Ephes.*, V, 25).

168. White marble slab with inscription in black ink on both sides found in room 706.

RECTO.

ϵHNIOYN
.ϵ.ρ[ϊ]ϫ....Π.ρOC ϵΠNAϒ. NTAΠANAXΩ
ρITHC.....2ϵMΠXAϵ ϵT2I2OOϒ
ΩϪϥϪ NACMOϒ ϵPOK
2Ϫ ΠΩNϵ NAϵΩ
.ϵPOK OYϪϵ ΠAϵKϵ ϵPOK2.
Tϥ MϵKΩANϪ2.PAK .2HTϥ NNϵAAϒ NTϵ
OM OYϪϵ TINAMIC NAϵΩ2ΩYN .ϵ2OYN
ϵPO]K'OYTϵ MMA ϵTOYNϪ2ΩBϥ NTIMPACϵYXH NH
Tϥ AAAA ϵYNAXΩPI NAϒ NNϵΠ2KO NΠIϵΩN NAϵ
..KBA NϭOM NNϵYΠΩT ϵ2OYN ϵΠMA ϵTOϒ
ΩΩ NTIMPACϵYXH N2HTH OYTϵ.

VERSO.

ϵPϵKBAAϥΩΩT NϪ
OC Aϵ.....OC.NTϭOM NΠΠPOCϵ
YXH ϵT ΠϵKAAOC NAϥΩK
NOYϵ ΠΩP2ΩΩ.
Tϵ 2ITϵ M HϵT
OY ..ϵPΠNϵYMA
T...ϪYNAMIC NIM ϵ
2ΩN ϵ2OYN ϵTϵΠ
CϵNA.AXΩPINAϒ NϭI Tϵ. ANICTϵI
C..Tϵ ΠKKϵ NAϵΩ2ΩHN ϵ2OYN
ϵTIΠPOϵXH ϵTOYAAϒ

1. Part of a heading written in larger letters with small circles at the extremities as in the *Berlin Kopt. Urk.*, n° 6, 11-15, 18 and frequently elsewhere. On this account, Mr. Crum (who has not seen the original) is inclined to think this is also a spell to protect anchorites from harm. — The writing is for the most part very faint and in some places has entirely disappeared. The translation is fragmentary and in parts uncertain.

RECTO.

.....*ηνιον*

...for the time when the anchorite (goes to live?) in the desert, which inflicts(?) evil ..... he does ..... shall bless thee ..... the stone shall be able to .... thee, neither ..... thee before it ..... before any power; nor shall a power be able to approach thee, nor the places to which he shall be sent to make prayer [1] therein; but they shall depart. The poor of this world shall not (be able?) to punish(?) the power; they shall not rush into the place where this prayer is recited therein nor.....

VERSO.

.....thy(?) want of sight(?) shall.....the power of this(?) prayer [2] which(?)....thy people shall... .....be spiritual(?).....every power.....approach the.....they shall depart viz. the power(?) of the....nor(?) shall darkness be able to come near this prayer which is offered up.

[1] l. προϲϵγχη ñ2ητϥ. — [2] l. ητπροϲϵγχη.

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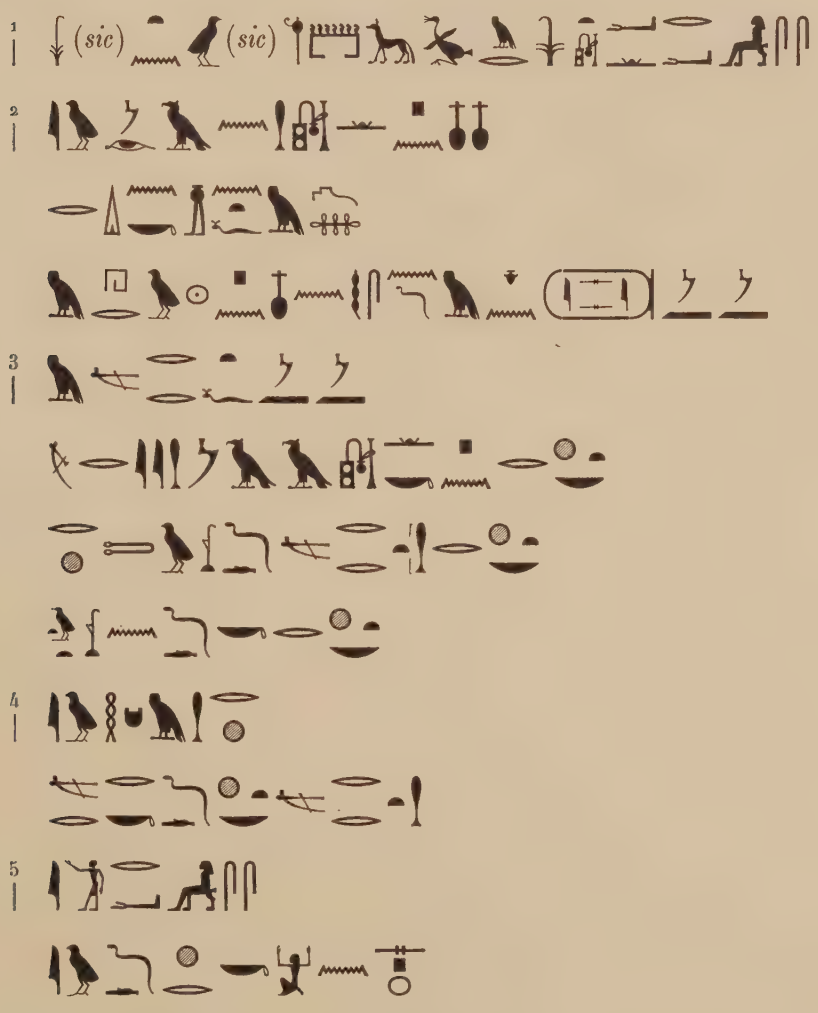
EGYPTIAN TEXTS[1]

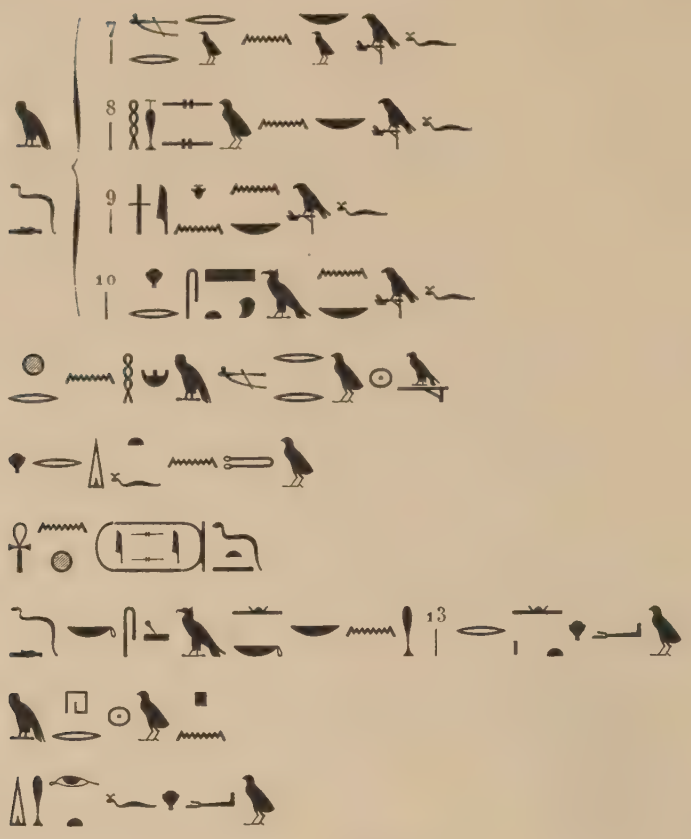
BY

PROF. W. SPIEGELBERG.

DANKSCHREIBEN DES KÖNIGS ESSE AN SEINEN VEZIER.



[1] Die sämtlichen hieroglyphischen Texte sind nach den Photographieen und Abschriften Quibells gegeben, mit Ausnahme von C, wo mir nur die letzteren zur Verfügung standen. Der obige Text, dessen wahre Anordnung man ebenso wie die genaue Form der Hieroglyphen aus der Lichtdrucktafel LXI entnehmen kann, ist nach dem Vorbilde der *Urkunden* (ed. Sethe-Steindorff) in Sätze abgeteilt worden.



UMSCHRIFT.

1 *wḏ śwtnj sꜣb sbḥ·t(?) ṯꜣwtj mr ᶜ śwtnj Ḏpśś(w)-Rᶜ*

2 *ʾw mꜣ-n ḥ·m(1)(?)(-j) sš pn nfr nfr rdjj(-w)-n-k ʾn·t-f m śtp-sꜣ m hrw pn nfr n śnḏm ʾb ʾssʾ mꜣᶜ mꜣᶜ* 3 *m mrr·t-f mꜣᶜ mꜣᶜ mrj ḥ·m(1)(?)(-j) mꜣꜣ sš-k pn r ʾḫt nb rḫ-ṯw ṯr ḏd mrr·t ḥ·m(1)(?)(-j) r ʾḫt nb twt ṯr n(-j) ḏd-k r ʾḫt nb* 4 *ʾw ḥm ḥ·m(1)(?)(-j) rḫ(-j) mrr-k ḏd ʾḫt nb mrr·t ḥ·m(1)(?)(-j)*

5 *ʾ Špśś(w)-Rᶜ ʾw ḏd ḫr-k ḥḥ n sp*

6 *m ḏd* ⌉ *mrr-w n nbw*(sic)*-f*

8 *ḥssw n nb-f*

9 *ʾmj ʾb n nb-f*

10 *ḫrj śšṯꜣ n nb-f*

11 *ḫr nḫm(-wj) mrr-w Rᶜ ḫr rdjj·t n(-j) ṯw* 12 *ᶜnḫ ʾssʾ ḏt ḏd-k sꜣ-k nb n ḥ·m(1)(?)(-j)* 13 *r šᶜ·t(?)-k ḫr ᶜw(j) m hrw pn djj ḥ·m(1)(?)(-j) ʾr·t-f ḫr ᶜw(j)*

ÜBERSETZUNG.

1 Königlicher Erlass (I) an den Oberrichter und Vezier, den Leiter der königlichen Kanzlei *Schepsesu-Reᶜ* (II).

2 Meine Majestät hat diese sehr schöne Schrift gesehen, (III) welche du an den Hof hast bringen

(1) Siehe Erman in *Sitzber.* Berl. Akad., 1907, S. 408.

lassen, an diesem schönen Tage, da das Herz des sehr gerechten (IV) Königs Esse erfreut wurde (V) 3 durch das, was er, der sehr Gerechte (IV), liebt.

Meine Majestät wünschte (ja) (VI) über alles, diese Schrift zu sehen. Denn du weisst das (VII) zu sagen (VIII), was meine Majestät über alles liebt, und dein Sprechen gefällt (?) (IX) mir über alles. 4 Weiss doch meine Majestät, dass du alles das zu sagen liebst, was meine Majestät liebt.

5 O, *Schepsesu-Re^c!* Sage (X) unzählige Male 6 folgendes :

7 Geliebt von seinem Herrn.

8 Gelobt von seinem Herrn.

9 Im Herzen seines Herrn befindlich.

10 Geheimrat seines Herrn.

11 Denn, wahrlich (XI) ich bin ein von Re geliebter, weil er dich mir gegeben hat.

12 So wahr Esse lebt[1], wenn du deinen ganzen Wunsch (?) meiner Majestät 13 sofort heute in (XII) deinem Brief sagst, so lässt meine Majestät ihn sofort erfüllen.

KOMMENTAR.

I. Auch hier ist der Titel des Erlasses[2] wie auch sonst[3] in rückläufiger Schrift geschrieben.

II. Dieser bisher nicht bekannte Vezier ist auch in der Inschrift des *K3-m-ṯnn-t* (B 10, 12) erwähnt.

III. Vergleiche dazu den Briefanfang Sethe, *Urk.*, I, 60,16, [illegible], wo [illegible] weiblich (= *š^c·t*?) den «Brief» bezeichnet.

IV. Dasselbe Epitheton in [illegible], *Urk.*, I, 68 ult. In Z. 4, schliesst es sich an das Suffix an. — Identisch damit ist das von Gardiner in *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XLV (1908) Seite 132 besprochene [illegible], das auch hinter dem Königstitel (*ḥm*) erscheint.

V. Diese Formel des Briefstils (auch z. B. *Urk.*, I, 61, 4) entspricht späterem *swḏ3 'b.*

VI. Zu der Form *mrjj* vgl. Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 176.

VII. *ṯr* steht hier und in dem nächsten Satz nicht wie gewöhnlich im Frage-, sondern im Aussagesatz. So kenne ich es auch sonst z. B. Sinuhe, 114 : [illegible] «ich kenne ihn nicht, denn ich bin nicht sein Genosse» oder *Rec.*, IX, 84 (Luxor) : [illegible] «wie gross sind doch deine Geister!». *K3-m-ṯnnt*, A 17 : [illegible] «möge ich doch kennen!». Auch in Lebensmüder, 31 u. 32 scheint *ṯr* im Aussagesatz zu stehen.

VIII. Danach lässt sich jetzt die Lücke in *Urk.*, I, 61, 6, mit Sicherheit in : [illegible], ergänzen[4].

IX. Ich kann diese Bedeutung, die sich aus der von «gleich sein, entsprechen» leicht entwickeln lässt, sonst nicht nachweisen.

X. Das Tempus *sḏm ḥr-f* mit einleitendem *'w* ist mir sonst nicht bekannt. Es steht hier wie so häufig zum Ausdruck der Aufforderung. Namentlich in der Verbindung *ḏd ḥr-k* ist es z. B. im Pap. Ebers beliebt. Der Sinn dieser Aufforderung wird der sein, dass *Schepsesu-Re^c* sich die bekannten Ehrentitel der Günstlinge des Pharaos recht zum Bewusstsein bringen soll.

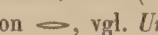
[1] D. h. «so wahr ich lebe», denn Esse spricht ja selbst.

[2] Siehe Erman in *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXIX (1891), S. 117.

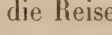
[3] Siehe die von Borchardt, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XLII (1905) 4, vermerkten Beispiele.

[4] Vgl. auch die dunkle Stelle, *Urk.*, I, 129, 5, [illegible]. Es scheint, dass hier [illegible] = *rḫ* «wissen» ist (vgl. dazu Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 245, 6).

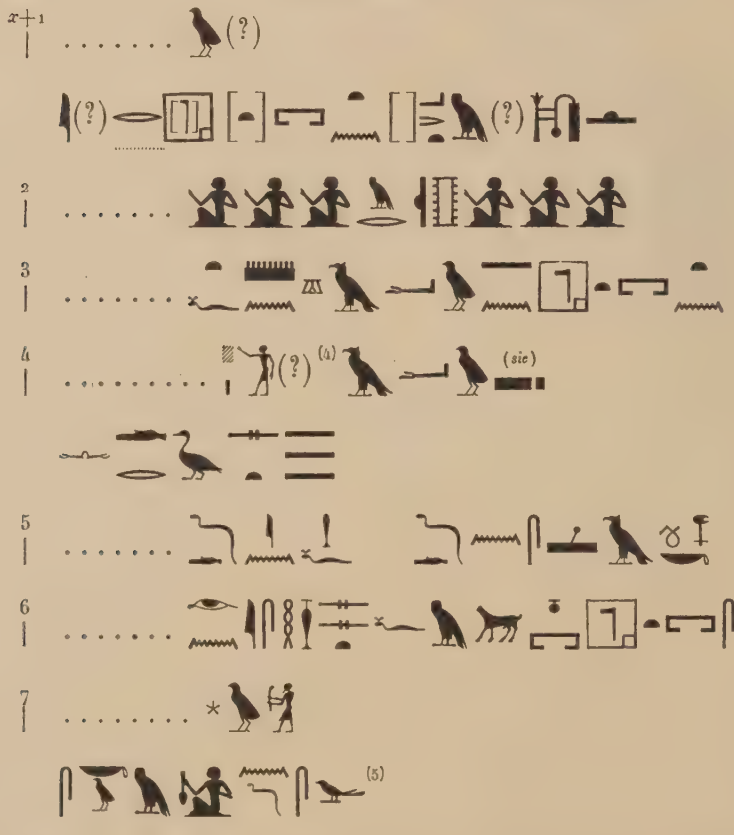
XI. Zu dieser Partikel vgl. *Recueil*, XXIV (1902), 35, und Gardiner, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XLIII (1906), 159.

XII. Zu diesem Gebrauch von , vgl. *Urk.*, I, 128, 14 :  «du hast in diesem deinem Brief gesagt».

INHALT.

Der Text ist also ein königliches Dankschreiben an den Vezier, und zwar in der Form eines Erlasses[1], und berührt sich in den Formeln ebenso stark mit denen der Briefe dieser Zeit[2], wie es von denen der späteren Zeit abweicht. Man fühlt deutlich heraus, welchen hohen Wert der Verfasser, vermutlich ein «Königlicher Schreiber» auf die Form legte, wie es der Orientale zu allen Zeiten that. So mag auch die Freude des Königs Esse über den Brief seines Veziers mehr dem gewählten Stil[3] als dem Inhalt gegolten haben, von dem unser Text uns nichts verrät. Sollte etwa der Vezier über die Reisen des Prinzen  *K;-m-ṯnn.t* berichtet haben, in Verbindung mit denen er in den folgenden Inschriftfragmenten (B 10, 12) erwähnt wird?

FRAGMENT A (TAFEL LXI, 3).



[1] Solcher Erlasse aus dem A. R. sind jetzt eine ganze Reihe bekannt z. B. Borchardt in *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XLII (1905), S. 1 ff.; Petrie, *Abydos*, II, Tafel 17-18 (=14 — Vgl. dazu Maspero, *Recueil*, XXVI (1904), 236); Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 60, 62, 128.

[2] Vgl. besonders *Urk.*, I, 60. 62.

[3] Das Motiv der Bauerngeschichte wäre also schon sehr früh nachweisbar.

[4] Quibell : .

[5] = B 17. Zu der Schreibung des Titels vgl. Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 66, 2. 148, 10.

8 .....

9 .....

10 .....

11 .....

12 .....

13 .....

14 .....

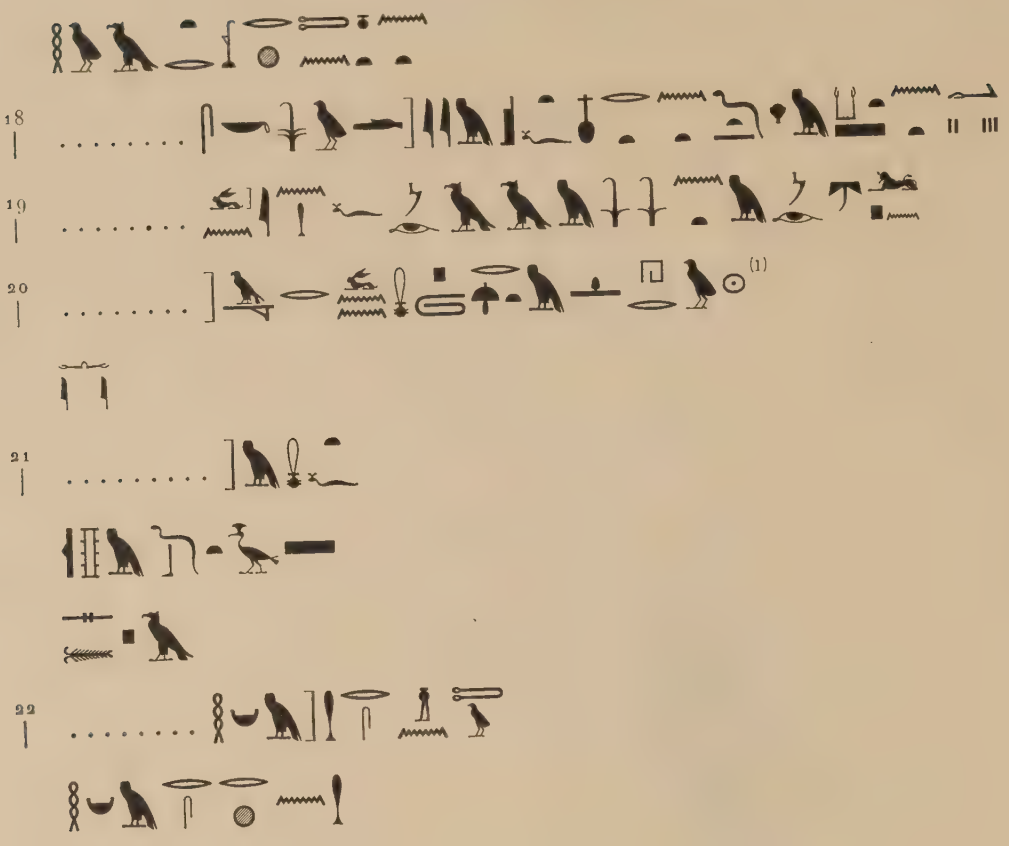
[Anderer Stein, Tafel LXI, 4.]

15 .....

16 .....

17 .....

(1) Vgl. *Urkunden*, I, 99, 13.
(2) Quibell : .
(3) Danach ist die Stelle, *Urkunden*, I, 66, 7 zu ergänzen.
(4) Weitere Ergänzung etwa nach *Urk.*, I, 108, 5.



FRAGMENT B (TAFEL LXI, 5).

(1) Vergleiche etwa Annalen Thutmosis' III (ed. Sethe, *Urkunden*, IV, 655, 9). *'w phr [rf] šw.t* «wenn der Schatten sich gewendet hat» d. h. «am Nachmittag» Unsere Stelle würde ich übersetzen «um zu sein(?) wie das Wenden des Schattens, wenn der Tag zur Neige geht». Zu *šw.t* «Schatten» siehe jetzt Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Seite 59.

3 .....]

4 .....]

5 .....]

6 .....]

7 .....]

8 ..... [1]]

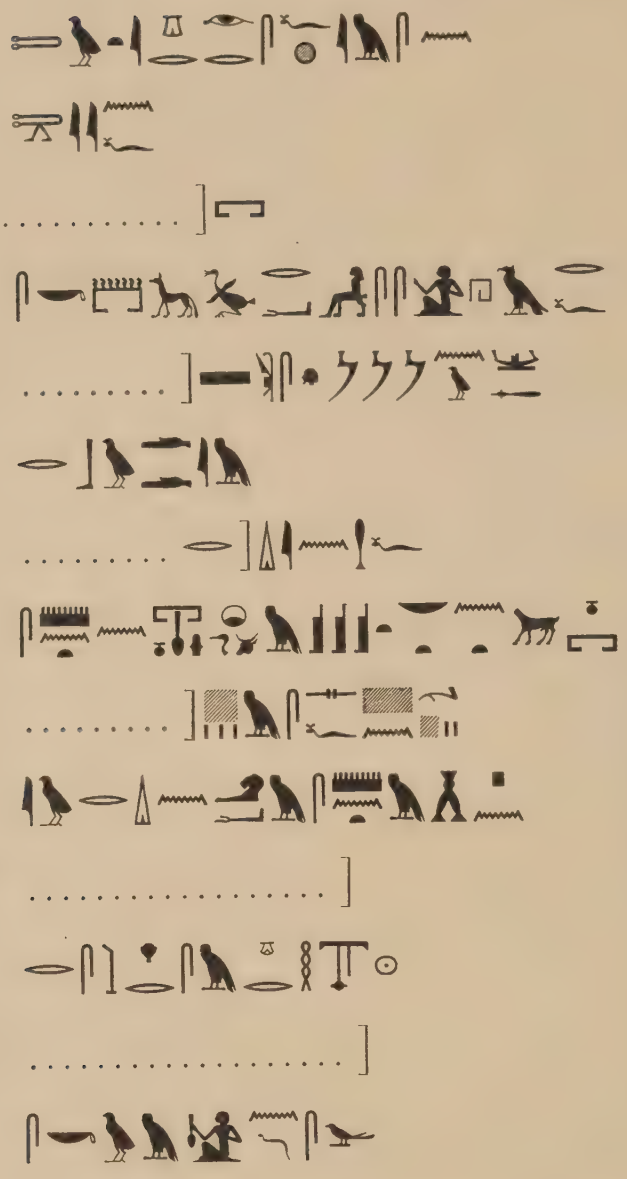
9 .....] (sic)

10 .....]

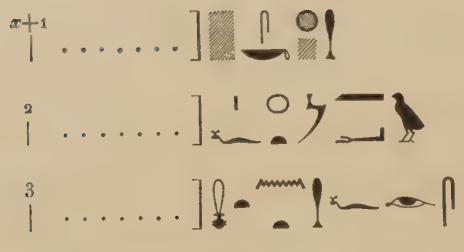
11 .....]

(1) Ist etwa nach *Urk.*, I, 44, 9, zu ergänzen : [ ]?

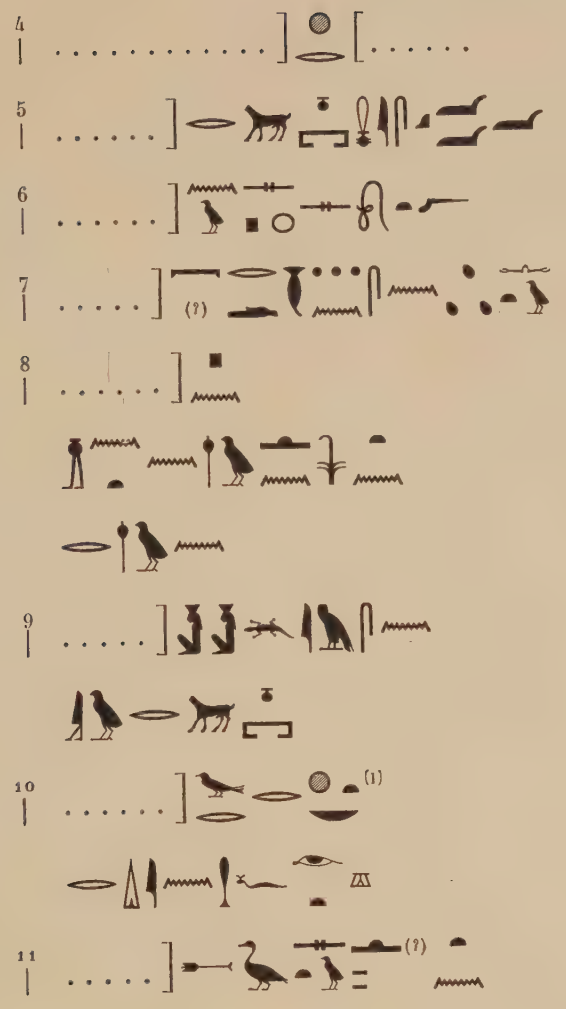
(2) Quibell : .



FRAGMENT C[1].



[1] Ohne Nachvergleichung von Photographieen nach Quibells Abschrift.



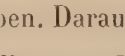
In diesen Inschriftresten hat uns Quibell den Text wiedergegeben, der unter den Papieren Mariettes (*Mastabas*, S. 188) verloren gegangen war. Wie die Zitate in *Brugsch's* Wörterbuch IV S. 1675 zeigen, war ihm der Text zugänglich gewesen.

Es ist sehr zu beklagen, dass von dieser Inschrift nur die unteren Zeilenreste, vielleicht nur $^1/_4$ des ursprünglichen Umfangs, erhalten geblieben sind. Denn was man jetzt noch feststellen kann, zeigt uns, dass der Text von ganz besonderer Wichtigkeit war. Er enthält die Biographie des Grabinhabers , *K3-m-ṯnn.t*, der, wie die Erwähnung der Veziers *Schepsesu-Reʿ* zeigt, unter dem König Esse lebte. Er war

ʿKönigssohn, einziger Freund, Schatzmeister des Gottes (*i. e.* des Pharao), Vorsteher aller

(1) Vgl. oben zu B, 8.

Arbeiten des Königs, welchen sein Herr liebt, Vorsteher aller Erlasse des Königs, der den Schrecken des Horus in die Fremdländer setzt.»

Soweit ich sehen kann[1], findet sich die letzte Wendung stets bei hohen Beamten, welche Expeditionen ins Ausland geleitet haben. Darauf weisen auch der Titel  und die militärischen Titel, welche sich auf seine Stellung im Landheere und bei der Flotte beziehen. Als Kapitän , *mr ʿpr*, ist unser *Kȝ-m-ṯnn.t* wahrscheinlich auch im Grabe des Ptahhotep (ed. Davies II Tafel 10) dargestellt, wo er in Verbindung mit Schiffen erscheint.

In der That nahm in seiner leider so verstümmelten Grabinschrift seine Thätigkeit als Seemann den grössten Raum ein. Seine Fahrten galten, soweit ich die inschriftlichen Reste deuten kann, friedlichen Zwecken, und zwar dem Transport von Baumaterialien für Grabbauten (Fragm. A, Zeile 15-19)[2], «Es geschah nun die Fahrt auf zwei grossen Schiffen» beginnt der Bericht. Ein besonders grosses Stück von 5 Ellen × [x Ellen] war für den «schönen Platz der Ewigkeit» also ein Grab, wohl das des Königs Esse bestimmt. Sehr bedauerlich ist die Lücke hinter Z. 19. «Seine Majestät sah dieses, was an(?) diesem Sphinx-Löwen war.» Wer weiss, ob hier nicht von dem grossen Sphinx von Gise die Rede war! Besondere Beachtung verdient der Name *mȝ* «Löwe» für das Löwenbild des Königs[3].

Ob B, 2 fg., sich noch auf dieselbe Expedition bezieht, ist mir nicht sicher, aber auch hier handelt es sich um eine Unternehmung auf dem Nil (*jtrw* Zeile 4, 6). Ein heftiger Sturm überraschte die Flotte, auf der auch *Kȝ-m-ṯnn.t* war, «an diesem Tage des über alles heftigen Unwetters». Sie wurde in alle Winde zerstreut, wenn ich recht verstehe und ergänze — «nicht fand ich irgend welche Leute (wieder), sie waren überall hin zerstreut(?) infolge des Sturmes». Auf diesen «heftigen Sturm[4] auf dem Fluss» wird auch später (Zeile 6) Bezug genommen. Indessen scheint schliesslich die Expedition gut verlaufen zu sein, und der Kommandant der Flotte(?) «war über alles froh, (denn) es fehlte ihm nichts»[5]. Dem Bericht über diese Fahrt erstattete *Kȝ-m-ṯnn.t* anscheinend selbst dem Pharao, der darauf erwidert «es war wie das Fahren auf dem grossen See des Re», was vielleicht ein Lob der glücklich verlaufenen Fahrt bedeuten soll. Darauf berief der König den Vezier *Schepsesu-Reʿ* an seinen Hof und ordnete die Auszeichnungen für *Kȝ-m-ṯnn.t* an, die unter anderem darin bestanden, dass der König ihm «Totenopfer aus allen Ressorts der Finanzverwaltung festsetzen liess».

Das ist etwa der Inhalt, den ich dem Fragment entnehmen zu können glaube. Wie viel daran problematisch ist, brauche ich kaum hervorzuheben. Gewiss wird eine weitere Bearbeitung noch manches Interessante trotz aller Zerstörung ermitteln können.

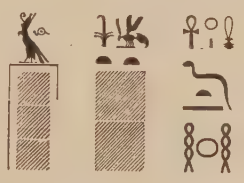
[1] Vgl. *Urk.*, I, 124,3 132,3, 135,6, 141,16.
[2] Vgl. z. B. den ähnlichen Bericht in der Unainschrift Z. 37 ff.
[3] Vgl. *Sethe* bei Borchardt, *Sitzungsber.*, Berl. Akad. XXXV (1897), S. 759 Anm. 2.
[4] Dieselbe Verbindung *dʿw ḳȝj* auch Bauer 244-5.
[5] Zu dem Ausdruck vgl. *Urk.*, I, 16, 16. 152, 16.

DIE NEKTANEBÊS-STELE[1] (TAFEL LII).

Höhe 1,62 m, Breite 0,92 m, Dicke 0,40 m. Material : Nach Daressy Sandsteinkonglomerat (grès jaune siliceux) des Gebel el-Aḥmar bei Cairo.

Das obere Halbrund ist durch das dem abgerundeten Rande folgende gebogene Himmelszeichen (—) begrenzt, unter dessen beiden Enden je ein Scepter erscheint, welches den seitlichen Rahmen der Stele bildet. Unter dem Himmel ist die geflügelte Sonnenscheibe mit zwei Uraeen dargestellt. Auf sie bezieht sich die Inschrift .

Darunter folgt die eigentliche Darstellung, die Verehrung des Apisstieres durch den König, der zur Anbetung des heiligen Tieres niederkniet. Von seinem Namen — es ist Nektanebês — ist noch erhalten :



Die Königsnamen sind in dem Loch verschwunden, welches bei der späteren Benutzung der Stele für die Thürangel ausgehauen worden ist.

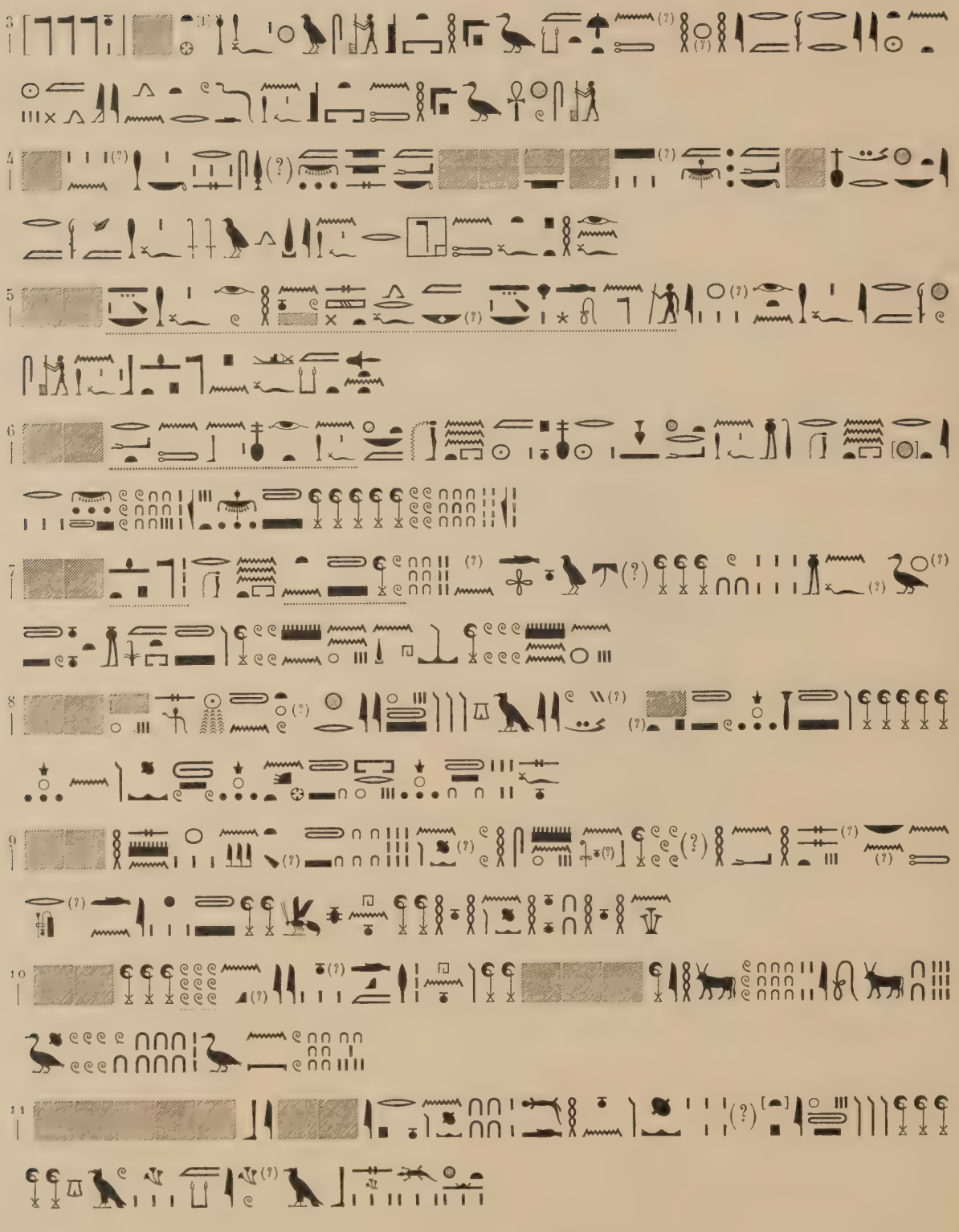
Hinter dem König ist sein Ka dargestellt, der in der üblichen Weise mit dem Königskopf auf einer Stange, die von einem der zwei Arme gehalten wird, die aus dem Ka-namen herauskommen.

Vor dem König stand ein Opfertisch, der ebenso *absichtlich* ausgekratzt ist wie die Köpfe des Königs und des Apis. Die zugehörige Inschrift zeigt, dass der König ein «Totenopfer» darbringt, also den toten Apis (Osorapis) verehrt. Dieser ist als bezeichnet.[2]

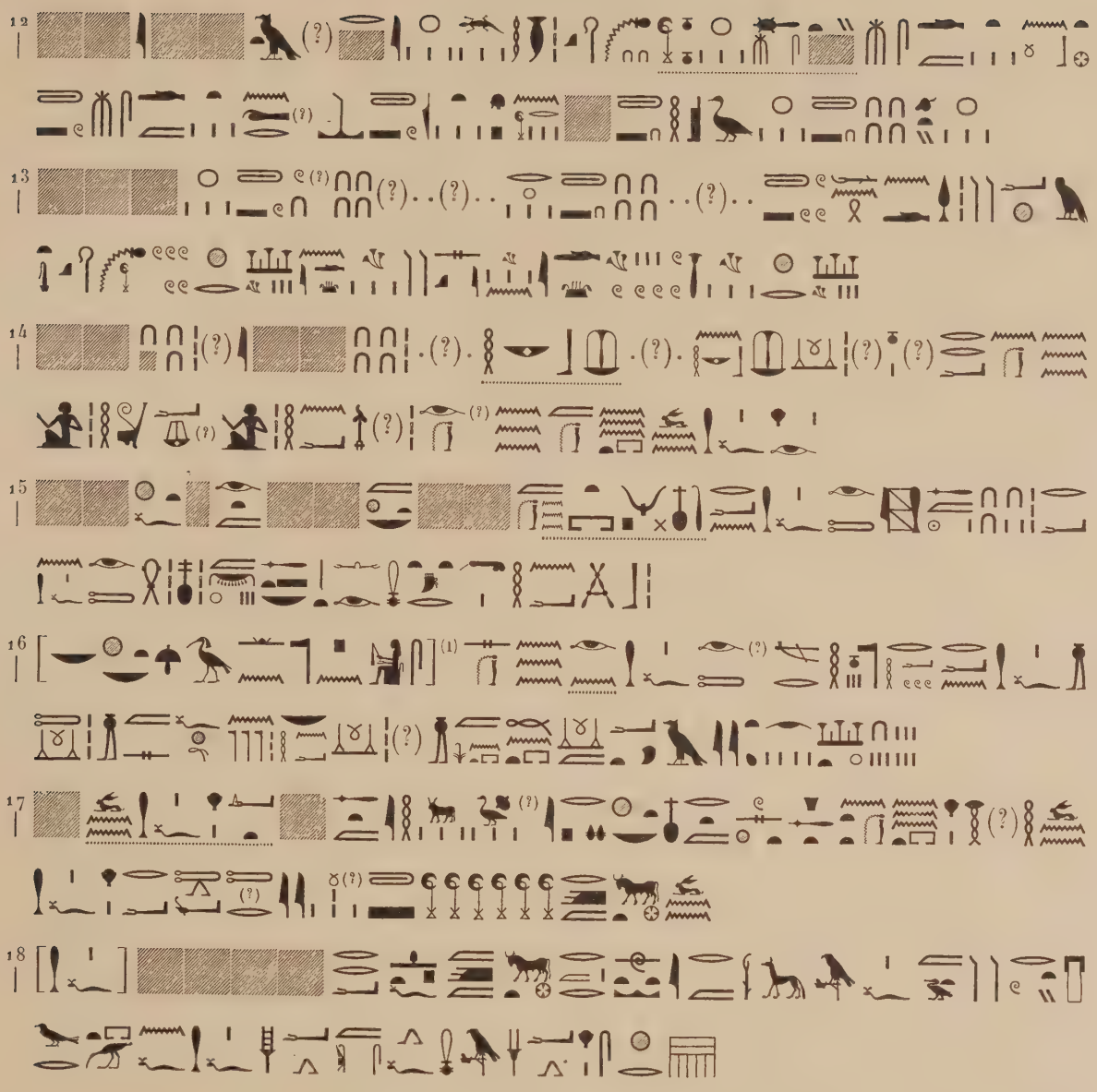
HIEROGLYPHISCHER TEXT.

[1] Für die Feststellung des Textes war ich auf die Textausgabe Daressys in den *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, IX (1908), S. 154 ff. angewiesen, die ich nach einem sehr ungenügenden Papierabdruck und einer guten photographischen Aufnahme revidiert habe. Wo ich Daressys Text nicht kontrollieren konnte, d. h. wo die Photographie versagte, habe ich ihn durch untergesetzte Punkte gekennzeichnet. Zweifellos wird aus der schwer lesbaren Inschrift am Original noch mehr herauszulesen sein.

[2] Vgl. *Recueil*, XXII (1900), S. 171, n° CII.



(1) Vgl. Satrapenstele, 7.



ÜBERSETZUNG.

1 «Im Jahre 2 unter der Majestät des Königs Nektanebês(2), des ewig Lebenden, der von dem Apis, dem sich erneuernden Leben des Ptah, geliebt ist, der mit Leben begabt ist.

2 Der lebende, gute Gott, Sohn des Osiris, geboren von Isis, ... um(?) in den Tempeln der Götter zu opfern, Nektanebês(2), der ewig lebende. Als seine Majestät in seinem Palast, in dem Leben und Glück herrscht(3), in Memphis war, indem er herrliche Thaten vollbringen wollte unter

(1) Die übrigens unsichere Ergänzung nach *Recueil*, XXII (1900), 11, Zeile 8.
(2) Ich setze den bekannten manethonischen Namen für das lange Protokoll ein.
(3) Vgl. *Recueil*, XIX (1897), 89 Anm. 3 und Sethe in *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, XXXVIII (1900), 143.

3 [den Göttern Aegyptens(?)], da befahl seine Majestät, die Stätte des Apis zu bauen, in vortrefflicher Arbeit der Ewigkeit. Nach einiger Zeit kam man, um seiner Majestät zu sagen : Die Stätte des lebenden Apis ist gebaut

4 [nach dem Befehl] deiner Majestät. Ihre Thüren sind mit Gold verziert(?) ihre Thürflügel [. . . . .] überzogen [. . . . .] aus Silber, überzogen [. . . . .], über alles schön anzusehen. Nachdem seine Majestät dieses gehört hatte, begab sich seine Majestät in den Tempel des Ptah. Er machte

5 [. . . . .] welche seine Majestät gemacht hatte. Nachdem seine Majestät einen Platz gebaut hatte, an dem dieser Gott sich zur Ruhe begab (=starb) in vortrefflicher Arbeit von

6 [. . . . .] in dem Einbalsamierungsraum an diesem schönen Tage bis zu dem Tage der Beisetzung. Verzeichniss der Dinge, welche seine Majestät in den Einbalsamierungsraum bringen liess :

Gold — 476 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n* 3 Kite.

Silber — 5698 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n* 3 Kite.

7 . . . . .] für diesen Einbalsamierungsraum 1266 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, . . . von Vieh(?)[1] 3226, *'nf*(?)-[2] Mineral 100 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, aus dem Königshaus geliefertes Gewebe(?) 11400 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, bitumen[3] aus Phœnizien, bitumen

8 [aus . . . . .] *x d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, Myrrhen 30,000 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, . . . - Cyperus 100 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, frisches Harz[4] 15,000 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, Oasen-Harz 200 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, aegyptisches Harz 10 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, Harz produkt(?) 25 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, Pech

9 [*x d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*], Natron vom Wadi Natrun 59 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, (Natron) aus der Oase 200 (*d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*), Natron von El Kab 1500(?) (*d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*) mit allen [. . . . wie] es aufgezeichnet ist(?), *dnj* 2000 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, Honig 2000 *hin*-Maasse, Oasen-Oel 20 *ḫnw*-Maasse, unteraegyptisches Oel

10 [*x*+] 3090 [Maasse] . . . . Ricinusoel 12,000 [+ *x*] *hin*-Maasse [. . . . .] + 1000, 394 Rinder (*'ḫ*) 29 Stiere (*'w*^{3}), 773 Mastgänse, 285 Tauben,

11 . . . . .] Wein aus der Oase 22 (*hin*-Maasse), Most aus der Oase 5(?) (*hin*-Maasse), *tpj* 35000 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, 100 *mkj* aus Cyperus, reich gefüllte(?) Körbe(?),

12 . . . . .] viele schöne und süsse Dinge, 20 Artaben . (?) . . . . . Augenschminke aus Koptos 100 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, Augenschminke aus Byblos(?) 100 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n* 3 Kite, das beste von . . (?) . . 10 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, *ḫtm*-Mineral 50 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, *ḫntj*-Mineral

13 *x d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n* . . . . .] 250(?) *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n* . . (?) . . . 50 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n* . . (?) . . . 300 *d*^{e}*b*^{e}*n*, 20,000 Akazienhölzer, 1500 Artaben Brennholz(?), 20,000 Bündel *'dḫ*-Papyrus, 500 Matten aus *'dḫ*-Papyrus, [*x*] Bündel *w*^{3}*ḏ*-Papyrus,

14 . . . .] . . . . (?) . . . . . (?) . . . . . Stoffe von Priesterarbeit(?) und die Vorlesepriester und die Arbeiter(?), welche in dem Einbalsamierungsraum die Reinigung machen(?). Da machte seine Majestät

[1] Vgl. Pap. Berlin 3031 6/4 (Hierat. Pap. II, 49).
[2] Brugsch : Wb. V. 93.
[3] S. Loret : *Recueil*, XVI (1894), S. 157 ff.
[4] Vgl. Loret : Kyphi 58 ff.

15 [ein grosses Opfer] . . (?) . . . . . mit allen Dingen [. . . . .] im Einbalsamierungsraum . . . (?) . . . Seine Majestät liess ein grosses Opfer veranstalten 45 Tage lang. Seine Majestät liess schöne Talismane machen aus Gold und allen echten Edelsteinen, nicht war früher gleiches gemacht worden, sowie Kleider(?).

16 . . . . .] Da machte seine Majestät die Einbalsamierung. Es wurde Oel an die Gottes-Glieder gethan. Seine Majestät liess Stoffe bringen aus dem Stoffmaterial(?)[1] aller Götter und Stoffe aus dem Süd-und Nordzimmer[2], gewebt(?) von der Göttin *Tait*. Am 19. Choiak

17 . . . . .] Seine Majestät [brachte ein] grosses [Opfer] dar mit Stieren, Mastgänsen, Wein und allen schönen Dingen in der grossen Opferhalle des Einbalsamierungsraums . . (?) . . . Seine Majestät liess 6000 *dᵉbᵉn* Binden(?) in das Serapeum bringen.

18 [Seine Majestät . . . . .] um ihn beizusetzen in dem Serapeum neben der Nekropolis von Memphis[3]. Nachdem seine Heiligkeit(?) (d. i. der tote Apis) mitten in (?)[4] die beiden grossen Thore gekommen war, fand er seine Majestät dastehen in seinem Gefolge wie den Falken, der auf seinem Banner steht.»

INHALT DER STELE.

Der Inhalt ist kurz folgender. In seinem 2 Regierungsjahre, also etwa 377 v. Chr., hatte Nektanebês «eine Stätte des *lebenden* Apis» bauen lassen. Vielleicht ist diese Baulichkeit mit dem Tempel des Nektanebês identisch, den Mariette südlich von dem Serapeum entdeckt hat, dem «temple de Nectanébo Ier, qui est un temple d'Apis *vivant*»[5]. Er war also für den lebenden Apis bestimmt, der dort seinen Stall und seine Kulträume erhalten sollte, nachdem sein Vorgänger gestorben war. Auf die Bestattung des letzteren bezieht sich der grösste Teil der Inschrift, Z. 5-18. Der König liess seinen Grabraum im Serapeum herrichten und sorgte für die Einbalsamierung des Tieres in der , *wᶜb.t*[6]. Das ist, wie wir aus zahlreichen Serapeumsstelen wissen, der Raum, in welchem die Einbalsamierung der Apisstiere vorgenommen wurde, die ταριχεῖα in der Schilderung des Diodor I, 83, 5. Für diesen Zweck hatte Nektanebês eine grosse Stiftung gemacht[7], die einmal in der Lieferung alles dessen bestand, was für die Einbalsamierung nötig war, und weiter auch die Opfer betraf, welche der tote Apis verlangte. Sodann verfügte der König die Beisetzung des mumifizierten Stieres in dem Serapeum und nahm persönlich an der Bestattung teil, indem er in der Prozession folgte. Das dürfte der Sinn des Schlusssatzes sein.

[1] Vgl. Petrie, *Abydos*, II, 36 und Stele Berlin 2289 (bei Schäfer, *Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, S. 29).

[2] Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, 462 und 1175.

[3] Dieselbe Bezeichnung für die Apisgräber bei Memphis findet sich, *Recueil*, XVI (1894), S. 49.

[4] *m ḫ* — Darunter ist vielleicht die Mitte des nach aussen von den «beiden grossen Thoren», den Pylonen, abgeschlossenen Tempelhofes zu verstehen.

[5] *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (ed. Maspero), S. 76.

[6] *Recueil*, XXI, 72, n° 35; Zeile 2, 7, XXII, 20, n° 63; Zeile 4, *ib.*, 21, n° 64; Z. 4, *ib.* 167, n° 90; Z. 4, *ib.* 175, n° 116, Z. 6, u. s. — Siehe jetzt auch Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Seite 26. — Infolge der unrichtigen Deutung dieses Wortes hat Daressy den Text in einem Hauptpunkte missverstanden.

[7] Welche Summen noch in der Ptolemäerzeit und später für die Beisetzung eines Apisstieres ausgegeben wurde, ersieht man aus Diodor I, 84.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

Frontispiece. — From a watercolour copy of the painting in the niche of a cell (n° 709), now removed to the Museum.

Plate I. — Plan of the monastery so far as it was excavated at the end of this season. On no side were the limits of the building reached. Two blocks of buildings were cleared; the larger one, the southern, includes the church and the *mandara;* the northern the hospital (?) and the wine-cellars; between them was a large mound which was left to the next winter. The numbers on the plan are those of the field notes; their sequence is one of time only, the cells with lower numbers being those dug first. It would perhaps have been more convenient to the reader to have renumbered the rooms according to their position but this would have involved either a second marking of all the objects found or else the use of two different sets of numbers; the risk of error would have been considerable.

The following table gives references to the plates for all the rooms of which an illustration is given or in which any objects reproduced were found :

Rooms.		Plates.
703.	Capital	XVI *A*, 2.
	—	XXII, 1.
	Inscription	XLVIII, 7.
704.	View	XV, 1.
	Capital	XXII, 3.
705.	Capital	XVI, 2.
	Stoup	XXIX, 6.
	Gate jambs	XXX.
	Cornice	XXXV, 5.
	Cross	XXXVIII, 1, 2.
	Bench	XLIII, 4.
	Greek inscription	LI, 1.
706.	Paintings	XI, 3.
	Nekhthorheb inscr.	LII.
709.	Paintings	Front., VIII, IX, X, 1, 2, 3.
710.	Capital	XVI *A*, 1.
	—	XVI, 1.
	Inscription	XLIX, 1.
712.	Cross	XXXVIII, 5 (left).
722.	Impost	XLV, 3.
726.	North door	XIV, 1.
	South door	XIV, 2.
	Capital	XXVIII, 1, 4, 5.
726.	Stones of south door.	XXXI.
	Pilaster capital	XXXII, 1.
	Bricks of roof	XLIII, 3.
727.	Painting	XI, 4.
	Inscription	L, 2.
728.	View	VI.
	East wall	XIV, 3.
	Conch	XXXVII, 1.
	Inscription	L, 3.
733.	Painting	X, 4.
	Bench	XV, 2.
740.	Inscription	XLV, 6 (top).
744.	Inscription	XLVIII, 8.
773.	Paintings	XII, 1, 2; XIII, 1.
	Buttresses	XIII, 2.
	Capital	XXIV, 2.
	Inscription	XLIV, 4.
779.	Inscription	XLV, 4 (low).
781.	Capital	XXIV, 6.
785.	Stones	XXXV, 1, 2.
787.	View	XIII, 3.
	Inscription	XLIX, 4.
788.	View	XIII, 3.
789.	View	XIII, 3.

Rooms.		Plates.
789.	Pilaster capital....	XXXII, 2.
	Stone.....	XXXVI, 3.
	Inscription.....	XLV, 1.
792.	View.....	XV, 3.
	Stones from wall...	XXVIII, 2.
	— ...	XXXIV, 1, 2, 4.
	— ...	XXXV, 7.
	— ...	XXXVI, 2.
	— ...	XLV, 4 (mid).
	— ...	XLIX, 5.
793.	Pilaster capital....	XXXII, 3 (top).
796.	Capital.....	XXII, 2.
797.	Capital.....	XXVIII, 3.
	Stones.....	XXXIV, 3.
1701.	View.....	XIII, 4.
	Stone from arch....	XXXVI, 5.
	Wooden cat.....	XL, 5.
1702.	View.....	XIII, 4.
1703.	Frieze, fragment of.	XXXV, 4.
1704.	View.....	VII.
	Stones from screen..	XXXIII.
	Console.....	XL, 1 (right).
	Graffito.....	L, 1.
1706.	Capitals.....	XXIV, 3, 4.
	—	XXVII, 1.
	—	XXIX, 1.
	Screen.....	XXXIII.
	Abacus.....	XLV, 4 (top).
1714.	Painting.....	X, 5.
	Capital.....	XXIX, 2.

Church :

	Views.....	II, III, IV, V.
	Pillars.....	XI, 1, 2.
	Narthex.....	XV, 3.

Church (*cont^d*) :

		Plates.
	Capitals.....	XVII-XXI.
	—	XXII, 4, 5, 6.
	—	XXIII, XXIV, 1.
	—	XXV, XXVI.
	—	XXVII, 2, 3, 4, 6.
	—	XXIX, 3.
	Consoles.....	XLIII, 2.
	Base.....	XXIX, 5.
	Frieze.....	XXXV, 3.
	Cornice.....	XXXVI, 1, 4, 8.
	Stoup.....	XXIX, 4.
	— (North of Ch.).	XIV, 4.
	Marble bowl.....	XLII, 1.
	Conch.....	XXXVII, 4.
	Stand for jars.....	XXXVIII, 3.
	Woodwork.....	XXXIX.
	—	XL, 1 (left), 3, 4.
	Toys.....	XL, 5.
	Bronze.....	XLI, 2.
	Semidome, blocks from.....	XLIII, 1.
	Inscriptions.....	XLIV, 3.
	—	XLV, 2, 5.
	—	XLVI, 4.
	—	XLVIII, 3, 6.
	—	XLIX, 2.
	— (Greek).	LI, 2.

Mandara :

	View.....	II, III, V.
	Inscriptions.....	XLIV, 1, 2.
	—	XLV, 6 (below).
	—	XLVI, 1.
	—	XLVII, 1.
	O. K. inscription...	LI, 3.
	Arabic graffito.....	L, 4.

Plate II. — The church as seen from the west, before the east end had been cleared. In the background is the inundation with the twisting line of the dyke which forms the road to Bedrashein. Next come the ruins dug out by the sebakhin and on the left a bank of débris thrown out from our work.

The middle of the picture is formed by the floor of the church from which the masses of plain stone fragments have been removed, those only which are decorated or inscribed being left. To the right is the remnant of the south wall, showing two pilasters, and beyond it are the still standing columns of the mandara. The projecting angle of massive brick work on the right is a part of the buttressed wall which bounded the way to the church on the west. In the middle of

the narthex, lying on its side, is the cylindrical tub of limestone which was once embedded in the floor close by.

PLATE III. — The church and part of the mandara as seen from the south-east, with the double stairway in the foreground. On each side of the main stair stood a column, against the base of which leaned a slab with a roundel on top enclosing a cross; one of them only was found but the plaster by which the second was attached is visible. On one of the stones on the face of the wall on which this base stood is a graffito of the Muslim profession of faith; it is shown in plate L, 4. Between the seated workman and the standing half-column is the end of the remaining portion of the south wall of the church. Only one face of the wall had been left, so we see here the rough inner side of the blocks. To the right of the man is a disorderly heap of stones, which we left at the time from an idea that there might be some meaning in it; it seems however to be only a heap made by the destroyers of the building.

On the floor of the church most of the bases of columns in the south row are visible; on the right, between the octagonal marble base and the prostrate column is one of the piers (?) of dry masonry, of which it is difficult to say whether they should be attributed to the latest times of Coptic use or to the Arab destroyers. Of the northern row of bases two only are clear (high on right), and of the capitals three. The standing stone beyond them is the Nekhthorheb stela, moved from its original position in the doorway, which appears behind and to the left.

On the west of the church the most prominent objects are the two prostrate columns of granite marking the western door. Between them, but lying inside the narthex, is the limestone tub seen also in the last plate. To the right of the columns is a part of the west wall of the church, composed of two courses of masonry above a beam of wood; the lower course is plastered.

Of the narthex little is to be seen except the cross wall of brick. Further to the west is the buttressed wall which was built to defend the approach to the church. The lower courses of this wall are largely composed of stones taken from the ruins of the first church; the upper part is of brick.

PLATE IV. *Above.* — The Step Pyramid forms the background: in the middle distance is a group of cells (709, 713) fortified by a buttress wall on the south. The east wall of the church is represented by the trench on the right, at the far end of which is seen the granite foundation-stone. To the left of this trench rise the foundations of the earlier apse: the topmost stone, against which another leans, is all that remains of this apse. Further to the left is the shell of the oblong block of brickwork which served as foundation to the later apse. Of this apse two stones remain in place.

Still further to the west are two of the alabaster blocks which formed the base of the altar screen. In the foreground on the right is a small stair of red brick, symmetrically placed to another which appears in the photograph below.

Below. — The same area viewed from the opposite direction. The trench which marks the former east wall is now in the middle of the picture, low down. The granite foundation stone, over which a man is visible, is at the south-east corner. The solid stone foundations of the earlier

apse are now on the left and the very inferior brick foundations of the later one on the right. Above the three alabaster blocks is seen the basalt base of a statue : it bears the name of Khaemuas.

Just below it is a part of the plaster bedding for the floor of the haikal, once covered with marble. A little further to the right and at a higher level is another bit of flooring which may have belonged to a very small chapel.

In the foreground on the lowest level are several of the peculiar blocks found there which must have come from a semidome. They are slightly curved, of varying sizes, deeply channelled along the edge, smooth on the inner, concave face but rough on the face hidden from view.

Plate V. — A view of the church, looking south-east from above the narthex which was not then cleared. In the background are the trees of Saqqara village and a hill remarkable as containing no known antiquities. The cemetery of the monastery lies in the low ground below this to the north. The standing columns are those of the mandara : against one of them leans a heavy plank of timber, far the largest piece of wood found in or near the church. The solitary square pier has built into it the inscription of plate XLVI, 1, and below this a triangular niche flanked by two incised crosses : it has been blackened by smoke, partly, it seems, by a lamp and partly by a fire lighted at the base of the pier. The piece of the south wall of the church contains two pilasters. They are 2 m. 89 cent. from centre to centre. In the floor of the church the large hole in the central line is the suggested site of the Epiphany tank.

All the capitals and other important stones have been left approximately below the positions in which they were found. The large Corinthian capital in the mandara is an exception; it was found inside the church and rolled down a sand slope out of harm's way to the south. A large part of the stones on the floor are fragments of the continuous moulding which must have run over the arches.

Plate VI. — The chamber with an apsidal niche and two windows with sloping sills is marked 728 on the plan (pl. I). It is shown again on plate XIV, 3. The north wall bore paintings. To the right and further back is the entrance of the long room (729) which we have called provisionally the hospital. On the stone pier may be seen the inscription of « Abraham of the hospital » which forms the sole ground for this rather hazardous attribution.

The dark space below it was occupied by a thick wooden plank. The mould of a slighter piece of wood is to be seen on the top of the pier. The handsome gatepost with its chevron pattern above and the imbricated design below is of a kind found later to be very typical of the site. By its side stands a piece of a column, hollowed out at the top as if used as a support for a basin. It was in front of this gateway that the series of stones of plate XXXI were disclosed.

Along the east wall of the large room we may notice the buttress, the blocked doorway and the cupboards, all of them features continually recurring throughout the building. The blocked door in the north wall appears again in plate XIV, 1, but viewed from the other side.

Plate VII. — At the north end of the southern of the two groups of buildings (pl. I, 1704,

1706) are two chambers, separated by a screen formed of columns and piers. This screen is here shown as it appeared when half dug out : the view is taken from the west. The combination of good ornament with unsound design is remarkable; it will be noticed that the blocks of stone above the pillar on the right are supported by a wooden plank. The structure cannot belong to the first foundation; the decorated pilaster built into the pier on the right is not in its original position; though the floor in use at the time the screen was built had mostly disappeared, traces of it remained, and another floor exists 50 cent. below, on which rest the foundations of the piers — singularly inadequate masses of unburnt brick. The spaces between piers and columns were filled no doubt by woodwork, but this had been later on removed and a blocking wall of crude brick substituted.

Plate VIII. — Photograph of the picture given in colour in the frontispiece. It is a painting in a rounded niche from the east wall of a cell near to the church on the north (pl. I, 709). The title of altar given on the plate is, no doubt, a mistake. Oratory or icon would be better. The arch was ca. 1 metre high.

The wall on which this painting was executed is very poorly built and is certainly later than the other walls of the cell. It is curious that none of the other cells in this group have any decoration on the walls, while all four sides of this tiny room were elaborately painted.

Plate IX. — The figures of Faith, Hope and Charity from the south wall of the same cell. The names, spelt ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ, ⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ and ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ are written above the figures. The colours are as follows : ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ, chiton yellow with folds marked in red, shawl white with folds of gray; ⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ, chiton white with grey folds, shawl white with red folds; ⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ, chiton white, shawl yellow with red folds. The discs held in their hands are grey, outlined in black with inner rim and cross of white; the central boss is black with white spots. The coil pattern below the figures consists of two intertwined strands — one with outer scalloped border of red and inner one of pink with white between and a black edge where they cross — the other grey and dull green respectively with white between. The background is black; the spots are white. This is a favourite pattern, both at this site and at Bawît.

Plate X. — 1. The south-west corner of the same cell (709). The three new virtues have lost their names; further to the right were three more, Patience, Prudence and Fortitude.

2. The southern half of the east wall of the same cell (709). Above the interlacing border are two jewelled crosses on stands, hung, as it seems, with ribbons. Between them and to one side are plants. Below the border were two peacocks facing each other.

3. The figure of Patience [ⲍⲁⲣⲉⲫⲍⲏⲧ] from the east wall of the same cell. The chiton is yellow with red folds, the shawl white with lines of grey.

4. Figure of Christ from a niche in a room (733) in the north group. The table had been broken off, the picture bricked up and the praying niche converted into a cupboard.

The Christ wears an inner robe of yellow, an outer one of purple. On each side was an angel with hands raised. The stars(?) were black with white spots; the oval background was of slatey blue; outside this was a line of black with white spots, then a light line, then red with similar groups of stars of white on dark red. The painting was small (ca 0 m. 40 cent.) and in very bad condition from salt, and we did not succeed in moving it.

5. Painted plaster decoration from a long magazine (1714), not at this time completely dug out. The scale is smaller than in the rest of the plate.

Plate XI. — 1. The lower part of the limestone pillar in the middle of the west end of the church. The decoration is given again in line in figure 1 (p. 3). The painting is directly upon the stone.

2. Upper part of another pillar at the same end of the church.

3. Close to the door of the chamber «where Jeremias used to sit» was a small room (706) which served for the guards, and on the wall of this these watchmen had found leisure to daub in red paint figures intended for their portraits. Over each one is a name such as «Father Hor, the watchman»; above the heads is a drawing of a ship.

4. A medallion and part of a second representing an archangel and the Virgin Mary, from the west side of the wall between 722 and 727. The painting was interesting as being better and earlier in style than most of those we found, but it fell before a coloured copy could be made. Below it was the list of patriarchs (inscription n° 115).

Plate XII. — Paintings on plaster from the south wall of the founder's room (773); the two pictures fit together, the top one to the right of that below. The decoration of the central panel is new to us. In the centre between the pillars is a well-head and, rising from it, an object looking like a long glass bottle with a series of bulbs blown at intervals. It is yellow in colour. This cannot be a plant, and looks more like a trophy or labarum. On each side of it, though, there is a plant form, then come the two pillars with a curtain hanging between them, then the elaborate geometric pattern flanked by very conventionalised vines growing out of vases. On the left, finally, is the pattern of lozenges with single leaves in the centre, a better example of which has already been seen in *Saqqara*, II, pl. LVIII.

Plate XIII. — 1. The east wall of the same room (773). The plaster has been repaired in antiquity in the roughest manner. Between the two panels of geometric ornament is an epitaph (n° 1), reused as a support for a metal cross; the bronze nails remain. Below is a section of a column, once a support for a table or bowl.

2. The west side of the room (773). In the background the paintings of the last plate : on the right are two buttresses designed to support the west wall, which was, indeed, leaning at an alarming angle when we uncovered it. Into the buttress are built a whole series of capitals and pilaster capitals taken from already ruined parts of the building.

The column made of two stones, at the end of the buttress, bears an incised inscription, a prayer for the soul of a brother who was a baker (?) :

ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ
ⲣⲓⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ̄ⲛ
ⲧⲉϥⲏⲕⲩⲡⲁ
ⲥⲟⲛⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲉ
ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲡⲙⲁⲛⲧⲱⲭ
ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛⲛⲁϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ

3. The rooms west of the church (pl. I, 793, 794, 789, 787, 788) taken from the south. The thick wall on the right is in most parts double, consisting of the original walls and a buttress, made up in part of fragments of stone from earlier buildings. It is from this wall that several good reliefs were obtained. Leaning against the wall near the little stair is the block with inscription in very high relief, shown again in plate XLV, 1.

4. Two long rooms (1701, 1702) seen from the west. The small square openings in the wall, framed in stone, were used for tying cattle; a bar of wood fitting in holes in the side blocks remains in place, and on the floor is a layer of manure. This use of the room as a cowbyre was not, probably, the original one. The floor is 3 metres above that of the room beyond (1704) to the east; only in the later times of danger would the cattle be brought so far into the interior of the monastery.

Plate XIV. — 1. The north door of the hospital (?) (pl. I, 726) from the outside. The door-jamb on the right with the shell was meant to be laid horizontally and its base to be placed standing up : there must once have been a jamb corresponding to the one on the left : indeed, when afterwards the blocking was removed, part of this stone was found in it.

The object inside the shell may have been a human figure : on each side of it is a sea monster.

2. South doorway of the same room, seen already in plate VI.

3. East side of room 728 showing the square opening with sloping sill in the middle of the niche (cf. pl. VI). On both sides of the opening is a painting of a dove : the aperture goes directly through the wall; it cannot be a cupboard of which the back wall has been destroyed, and the object of the construction is not clear. The capitals of the two pillars have holes pierced through the upper corners as if for hanging a curtain.

4. Remains of a holy-water stoup (?) in the corridor north of the church. A section from a granite pillar of Rameses II served as the base; the top of it was hollowed out so as to fit a basin like that in plate XLII, 1. The base is of brickwork and at each corner was a little column : the basin was therefore roofed in.

Plate XV. — 1. Two ovens for baking the eucharistic bread (pl. I, 704). The use of the stone trough was recognised by the workmen; in it was dipped the cloth with which the oven was

cleared of ashes after the fire had blazed out and before the loaves were put in. The roof of the bakery was upheld by a column the capital of which lies on the floor.

2. The bench in room 733 showing the stone vase embedded in masonry.

3. A view of the narthex, the western approach to the church and the buttressed wall which bounded this approach. In this wall the fine relief of plate XXXIV, 1, is seen.

4. We have not, as yet, dug in the cemetery, but the sebakh diggers work there and this year found a few standing gravestones, two of which are shown here. The inscriptions face east. The bodies close by were in a state of hopeless confusion : the cemetery was dug out some years ago by the villagers.

Plate XVI. — 1. The finest of the smaller capitals (height o m. 33 cent.). It is of soft limestone, the ornament deeply (o m. o5 cent.) cut with free use of the drill. The horizontal section is 8-lobed. The design is one that will frequently recur, that of the vine springing from a vase : the vases are here very small, the shape of the leaves elongated and the leaflets separated by deep drill-holes. The capital was brightly painted in red and blue. It was found in the passage (710) leading to the cell (709) the walls of which bore the paintings of the virtues.

2. A capital similar in form, design and dimensions (height o m. 34 cent.) to the last, but the egg and dart pattern is replaced by a floral motive, the fillet at the base is different, the work is less delicate and the bunches of grapes do not hang downward. This capital was found in room 705.

Plate XVI *A*. — These two figures are reduced from pen and ink sketches by Mr. Fitzroy Darke. The upper capital, o m. 33 cent. high, from room 710, is seen again in plate XVI, 1; the lower, o m. 40 cent. high, in plate XXII, 1. The first retains considerable traces of red and blue paint.

Plate XVII. — One of the finest of the vine-leaf capitals (height o m. 58 cent., top o m. 75 c. square) found in the south aisle of the church near the east end. In plate III it is shown in position as found, close to an octagonal marble base. On comparing this with the last two capitals and with plate XIX we see that the leaf-like object rising from the fillet at the base probably represents a vase. The capital was marked on the base with the letter B incised.

Plate XVIII. — Capital built into a block of dry masonry in the middle of the south row of columns. (Height o m. 57 cent.) Here the intertwining stems of the vine have almost lost connection with the leaves and have developed into a separate pattern. Rosettes, pomegranates and crosses are inserted in the loops.

Plate XIX. — Large tub-shaped capital much inferior to the last two (height o m. 55 cent.). Inscription on the edge ZAXAPIAC and ΙΟΥCΤΕ. Found close to the west door of the church.

Plate XX. — 1. Capital (height o m. 50 cent.). From north-west angle of the church.

2. Capital (height o m. 50 cent.), found at the west end. It retains a good deal of colour, each leaf having been painted with one side red and the other yellow.

3. Capital (height o m. 40 cent.) from the south aisle of the church.

4. Capital (height o m. 55 cent.) from the south aisle.

Plate XXI. — 1. Capital (height o m. 44 cent.) of the 8-lobed type. Two slots have been cut in it after the decoration was finished, so as to insert a wooden screen. This seems a strange method of working but was reasonable enough where stone was soft and easily cut and wood was dear.

2. Capital (height o m. 46 cent.) similar to the last in shape and also in having the two vertical channels cut to fit the woodwork.

3. Capital (height o m. 47 cent., diameter at base o m. 30 cent.). From east end of south aisle. The capital appears to have been engaged in a wall. There is a vertical slot but this time the pattern runs over into it.

4. Part of a capital (height o m. 43 cent.) with no sign of decoration on one side; it was, probably, like the last, engaged.

Plate XXII. — 1-3 are vineleaf-capitals from rooms in the monastery and are smaller and less carefully executed than those in the church.

1. Capital (height o m. 40 cent.) from room 703; a line-drawing in plate XVI *A*.

2. Very small capital (height o m. 24 cent.) found inverted and used as a base for a pillar in the wall which divided room 796 into two parts.

3. Capital (height o m. 40 cent. square above) from the bakery (704); found under the ashes in the south-west corner.

4. Capital of the acanthus and palm type (height o m. 47 cent.) found near the west door of the church.

5. Similar capital (height o m. 53 cent. top o m. 71 cent. square, diameter of base o m. 45 cent.). The palm-fronds are painted with roughly drawn strokes of red and green; each frond has a green and a red half but the colours change sides from leaf to leaf, so that two green half-leaves come together, then two red ones. This arrangement was not a mere mistake as it occurs again in the next capital.

6. Capital (height o m. 55 cent.) like the last; very brightly coloured.

Plate XXIII. — Four capitals from the north side of the church. All in this row were of one type and very similar to one another, though no pair matched exactly.

1. Height o m. 40 cent., diameter at base o m. 37 cent.

2. Height o m. 44 cent., diameter at base o m. 34 cent.

3. Height o m. 38 cent., diameter at base o m. 34 cent.

4. Height o m. 49 cent., diameter at base o m. 36 cent.

Plate XXIV. — Six samples of the oblong-topped capital with vertical grooves for insertion of a screen. These grooves appear generally to have been cut after the decoration was finished.

1. Capital found in a hole below the south-east corner of the church.

2. Capital from a buttress in the abbot's room (773).

3. Capital from room 1706, from the east to west row of pillars which were, therefore, probably joined by a screen of lattice work.

4. Another from the same room. Letter ϰ is incised above.

5. Height o m. 34 cent.

6. Is brightly painted on one half only.

Plate XXV. — Large capital of the type with 8 projecting lobes (height o m. 46 cent.). It has already appeared in plate XXI, 2.

Plate XXVI. — The finest of three large Corinthian capitals found in the church (height o m. 63 cent.). It retains considerable traces of colour.

Plate XXVII. — A set of capitals of the simpler and less decorative types, but including one (n° 4) like that of plate XXVI; n° 3 may be unfinished.

1. This is much of the type of the north row of capitals (pl. XXIII) but taller (height o m. 46 cent.). From room 1706.

2. (Height o m. 63 cent., diameter at base o m. 37 cent.) From north-west quarter of the church, near the north door. The curled ends of the leaves have been made into rude animal faces.

3. (Height o m. 34 cent., diameter at base o m. 29 cent.) From near the north wall.

4. Large Corinthian capital (height o m. 60 cent.) from the east end of the church, close to the alabaster bench. It retains traces of colour.

5 and 6. Two capitals from near the stair at the south-east of the church (height o m. 30 cent. and o m. 32 cent.).

Plate XXVIII. — A series of engaged capitals.

1. (Height o m. 37 cent., top o m. 42 cent. by o m. 47 cent.) Was found in the yard marked 729 on the map, came probably therefore from the south gate of the hospital(?). Two animals represented between the leaves, high on the left, have been chiselled out in antiquity.

2. A similar engaged capital found built into the buttressed wall (792) (height o m. 39 cent., top o m. 40 cent. by o m. 46 cent.).

3. A smaller capital with leaves in low relief, found in the same wall further south (797) (height 0 m. 22 cent.).

4. From the yard (729) south of the hospital (height 0 m. 32 cent.).

5. From the hospital (?) 726 (height 0 m. 22 cent.).

Plate XXIX. — 1. Another of the capitals with eight lobes. Found in the long room (1706) at the end of which was the screen of plate VII. It was the only one of its type (height 0 m. 45 cent.).

2. Capital from the long barrel-vaulted magazine (1714) not completely dug (height 0 m. 43 cent.).

3. Capital from the east end of the church, near to the alabaster bench (height 0 m. 41 cent.).

4. Stand to hold a marble basin (height 0 m. 80 cent.) found in north-east quarter of the church.

5. A marble base (height 0 m. 70 cent.) from south-east part of the church. It is seen in position in plate III. It is octagonal in section, the surface is left rough with edges only dressed but the moulding is sharp and good. It may be that blocks were sometimes imported half-finished, to be polished in Egypt.

6. Another stand for a basin, from the hall (705) to the north of the church. It bears traces of colour (height 0 m. 63 cent.).

Plate XXX. — The two door-posts from the south door of the hall 705 (height 1 m. 85 cent.). Both had been broken in antiquity through driving in iron nails. A closely-similar design in plate XIV, 1.

This door was an elaborate and important one : it must have formed the main entrance to the monastery from the church. In the door jambs carved wooden beams were inserted; two reliefs from an Old Kingdom mastaba, depicting fishes, were also placed, one on each side of the door, and for the threshold the great quartzite stela of Nectanebo was employed.

Plate XXXI. — A collection of limestone blocks found close together near the south door of the hospital (726) and doubtless forming part of that doorway.

1. Lintel (length 2 m. 08 cent.). The animals on each side of the cups in the two end-panels have been chiselled out. The asymmetry of the key-patterns in the middle is curious.

2 and 3. Two blocks, each 1 m. 50 cent. long; they look as if they should be placed horizontally.

4. These pieces and the two below are on a larger scale than the rest. They are flat blocks about 0 m. 35 cent. high (a unit of the ornament is 0 m. 20 cent. long). One would suppose

that these would stand upright but a fragment of a stela found the next year showed that the pattern might also run horizontally.

5. Two blocks, one o m. 34 cent., the other o m. 36 cent. high, showing shrines in which were seated figures of Our Lord; these have been carefully chiselled out.

6. Block, 1 m. 60 cent. long, with eight arches, seven of which contained a standing figure of an Apostle and the last that of the Saviour, as the names left above inform us.

Plate XXXII. — 1. A large false pilaster capital (height o m. 52 cent.), from the hospital (726). Only the capital is shown : the stone extended about o m. 15 cent. on each side.

2. Pilaster capitals from doorways, found reused in a wall (789). The lowest piece is o m. 90 cent. wide.

3. Pilaster capital, doubtless from the inside edge of a door (length o m. 95 cent.). From south-east end of church. Shown near original position in plate IV, 1, on the left.

Plate XXXIII. — A group of stones from the screen between rooms 1704 and 1706 (pl. VII).

1. Capital from south pillar with slot for insertion of wooden screen (height o m. 42 cent.).

2. Two double capitals from the sides of the piers (length of base of upper one o m. 84 cent.).

3. Block from east face of centre of entablature (not visible in plate VII) (length 1 metre, height o m. 38 cent.).

4. Doorjamb (1 m. 20 cent. high) reused in south pier of screen on west side (pl. VII, right), presumably of earlier work than the rest.

5. Pilaster capitals. The lowest is o m. 86 cent. long.

Plate XXXIV. — 1. A fine block, 1 m. 28 cent. long, found inverted, built into the face of the buttressed wall west of the church. Visible also in plate XV, 3.

2. Another block (1 m. 58 cent. long) built into the same wall. The central circular space, from which the original interlacing ornament had been broken out, was filled with plaster. The pattern may be restored from plate XXXI, 1.

3 and 4. Two more pieces from the same wall (o m. 60 cent. and o m. 80 cent. long).

Plate XXXV. — 1 and 2. Two blocks (o m. 52 cent. and o m. 56 cent. high), found in a small brick chamber (785), but doubtless originally derived from the church.

3. Fragment of frieze (o m. 55 cent. long), from north-east quarter of the church.

4. Fragment (o m. 37 cent. high), from a chamber on the north-west (1702).

5. Piece of cornice o m. 66 cent. long from the important room (705) with two still standing columns.

6. Fragment of cornice (o m. 63 cent. long), from south side of church.

7. Another from wall west of church (length o m. 86 cent.).

Plate XXXVI. — 1. Three fragments of a cornice of which many other pieces were found. These from were the west end of the church.

2 and 3. Flat slabs, o m. 66 cent. and o m. 82 cent. in length, with wreath carved on the edge. Both were reused in the wall west of the church.

4. A fragment (o m. 51 cent. long), found at the east end behind the altar. No other piece quite in this style was found.

5. Curved block (o m. 85 cent. long), from an arch. Found in the long room (1701) which was reused as a cowbyre (pl. XIII, 4).

6. Another curved block which must have come from the base of an arch. It shows the favourite pattern of the vine springing from a vase.

7. Fragment of cornice o m. 70 cent. long.

8. Two similar pieces.

Plate XXXVII. — 1. Shell-shaped stone from the niche in chamber 728, visible also in plate VI (breadth o m. 85 cent.).

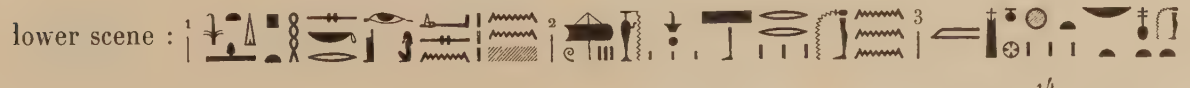
2. Fine conch removed at least a generation ago from the monastery and now used as a lintel in the tomb of Sidi Khodêr south of Abusir village.

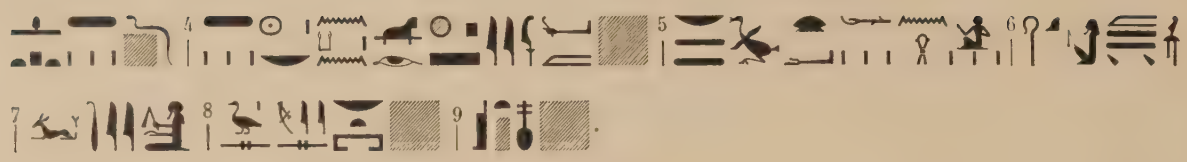
3. Fragment of another of these curved stones from a niche. The border is brightly coloured. Inscription n° 7, p. 29.

4. Fragment of yet another (o m. 50 cent. long) from the east end of the mandara. Inscription n° 8, p. 29 :

ⲙⲉⲙⲧⲟⲛⲙⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲛⲉⲙⲱⲉⲓⲣⲭⲙⲏ
ⲡⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲡⲁⲧⲉⲱⲛⲏⲁⲩⲙⲧⲟⲛⲙ

Plate XXXVIII. — 1 and 2. The two sides of a stone used first in the XIXth Dynasty for a stela, then by the Copts as a cross with two steps in front. Cf. the cross leaning against the column in plate III. The stone was found, apparently in its original position, close to the south door of the hall (705) which communicated between the church and the monastery.

The inscription reads : and, in the lower scene : 



3. A stand for water-jars found inside the church, on the north side of the west door (length 1 m. 06 cent., height 0 m. 30 cent.). The two circular basins drain into the central cavity which is deeper (0 m. 14 cent.). On the left are two holes for cups. On this side is an inscription ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲓⲥⲟⲛ. The head in the centre, generally taken to be a lion in this class of objects, must be rather a seamonster.

4. A block (0 m. 98 cent. wide) originally a lintel, reused as a stand for jars.

5. Two crosses, that on the left 0 m. 25 cent. square. This was in room 712; the other was near the surface and had been moved from its original position.

Plate XXXIX. — Line drawings of the designs on some pieces of wood found in the church. Nos 1-5 are in colour, painted on thin boards; nos 6 and 7 are carved pieces from wooden screens. The scale is about 1 : 5. The preservation is poor; the paint is dull and flakes off readily. Some of the colours are noted below.

1. Thick lines are green, leaves pink. On the right the stars(?) are white on a red ground; the leaves are green.

2. Foliage is white (probably a decayed green), the ground red, the birds dark-green and white.

3. Background red, main lines black, back of the bird green. The thin painted boards (1-5) may have covered the beams that tied the columns together, or the timbers of the roof.

Plate XL. — 1. Two consoles of palm wood, the larger one 0 m. 84 cent. long, found in the church, the smaller in room 1704 where it had been reused to roof a cupboard. Both had been gaily painted. The sharpness of cutting in so fibrous a material is remarkable.

2. Part of the door of a cupboard, 0 m. 27 cent. high, found outside the church at the north-west corner.

3. Fragments of carved wood, some of them painted. The uppermost piece which is brightly coloured, is from the north-east of the church. The others, with the exception of the chair-leg which was found by the sebakhin, also come from the east of the church and are, doubtless, fragments of the haikal screen. The lowest piece is 0 m. 28 cent. long.

4. Door and frame of a cupboard in a wall at the south of the altar at the lowest level. The body of the cupboard was an earthenware vase. The device on the two doors is the same.

5. A group of small wooden figures of animals — a bull and three cats (bull is 0 m. 10 cent. long). These, if they belonged to the monks are curious relics of the older religion; they may however be children's toys.

Plate XLI. — 1. Two uprights from a wooden chest(?) with delicate ivory inlay (length o m. 52 cent.).

2. Small objects of bronze : the main group, surrounded by the chain, were found at the east end of the church, at the lowest level, and north of the apse. Most of them are parts of a lamp. The stud and nails on the left and the spoon on the right were found separately.

Plate XLII. — 1. Marble basin, o m. 64 cent. in diameter, found broken in three pieces but complete. The largest fragment alone has been photographed in order to show the thickness of the side and the shape of the socket, which must have fitted into a stand and formed a holy water stoup (cf. pl. XIV, 4).

2. A group of lamps; two in the upper row are of stone, the rest of earthenware. Lamps are not numerous on the site.

3. A small ostracon, probably in the Blemmye language (Griffith). So far as it can be read the text is:

ⲁ·ⲟⲩⲱⲭⲁⲣⲁ···ⲁⲗⲗⲁⲣⲁ
·ⲁⲗⲓⲁ·ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲙⲓⲑ
ⲑⲁⲣⲙⲙⲁⲛⲁⲗⲗⲁⲭⲡⲁ
ⲁ·ⲓⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓⲥⲧⲟ́ⲩⲣ·
ⲓⲏⲁⲁⲟϥⲙ·ⲃ·ⲙⲡ
ⲁⲣⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙⲏⲛ
ⲙⲁⲣⲁ

4. Fragment (o m. 11 cent. long) of a shallow marble dish or plaque found by the sebakhin to the south of the monastery while our work was going on. It represents Jonah being swallowed by the whale.

5. Small objects of bone.

Plate XLIII. — 1. A selection from a group of blocks of a special shape found at the east end of the church, north of the earlier apse and at a low level. Their smooth face is slightly concave, one end is a little shorter than the other and the edges are deeply channelled. They vary from o m. 12 cent. to o m. 30 cent. in length and were evidently built into a semidome.

2. Two consoles and a small capital, also from the haikal. The capital is o m. 58 cent. wide. Consoles were curiously rare, perhaps because they could easily be dressed down square and so were all carried away and reused by the Arabs.

3. Red bricks with deep semicircular grooves on the face, found in the hospital (726). Such bricks would only be useful for roofs and we may conclude that this room was covered either by a double barrel-vault or by two rows of domes.

4. A support from a bench in room 705.

5. Parts of stone trough (the smaller piece 0 m. 65 cent. long) found in the corridor north of the church. The round spoon-like end was the inlet into which the skins or jars were emptied.

Plate XLIV. — 1. Two slabs from the floor of the mandara south of the church, photographed in position. (Larger stone 1 m. 60 cent. by 0 m. 52 cent.) Text and translation are given as nos 10, 11, p. 30, 31.

2. Third epitaph from the same floor, no 12, p. 32.

3. Inscription, 0 m. 30 cent. high, referring to the restoration of the church, no 13, p. 32.

4. Slab in the floor of room 773, near the blocked north door : its position is marked on the map in plate I : «This is where Apa Jeremias sat». No 14, p. 33.

Plate XLV. — 1. Three pieces of a long flat slab with an inscription in very high relief along the edge. Two of them were found in room 789, one was built into the buttressed wall west of the church. The dimensions of the largest piece are : length 1 m. 55 cent., height 0 m. 11 cent., depth 0 m. 25 cent. Inscription no 15, p. 33.

2. Inscription on a block found loose near the line of the north wall of the church and, most probably, derived from the wall. It states that «this is the place where the fullers sit». Are we to suppose that each trade had its special place in church or that the fullers alone, from the dirty nature of their work, were kept apart from their fellow-worshippers? Copy no 16, p. 33.

3. Two flat slabs, the larger 0 m. 49 cent. by 0 m. 36 cent. The inscription runs along three edges; in the smaller slab it is written from right to left. These stones must have served as a kind of abacus or impost to a column. Copies nos 17, 18, p. 33, 34.

4. Three more slabs, two of them similar to the last pair. The upper one (0 m. 32 cent. by 0 m. 25 cent.) fell from the central opening of the great screen between rooms 1704 and 1706. It had been reused at least once : of the two inscriptions that in high relief is the earlier. The middle block comes from the often mentioned thick wall west of the church. The lowest stone, 0 m. 45 cent. long, is inscribed on one edge only and seems not to have come from a pillar. Inscriptions nos 19, 20, p. 34.

5. Three fragments of epitaphs, all from the church, having been used there, probably, as paving stones. Inscriptions nos 21-23.

6. Above, a stone, 0 m. 40 cent. long, part of a lintel; below, another fragment of a lintel, found built into a late wall in the mandara. Inscriptions nos 24, 25.

Plate XLVI. — 1. Block, 1 m. 20 cent. by 0 m. 30 cent. from north face of the pier in the mandara south of the church. It is seen in position in plate VI. Inscription no 26.

2. Long epitaph on block 0 m. 45 cent. wide, found by the sebakhin in the cemetery south of the site. Singularly the name of Jeremias is not in the long list of saints invoked and the inscription is not finished. Inscription no 27.

3. Another inscription from the cemetery (height 1 m. 50 cent., breadth 0 m. 50 cent.). Copy n° 28, p. 37.

4. Graffito in red paint on a block originally 0 m. 73 cent. by 0 m. 42 cent. found in fragments at the west end of the church. Copy n° 89, p. 53.

PLATE XLVII. — 1. Inscription from the floor of the mandara just above the steps (length 0 m. 50 cent.). Copy n° 29, p. 37.

2-5. Epitaphs from the cemetery, found by sebakhin : the last two are reused New Empire blocks. Copies n°s 30-33, p. 38, 39.

PLATE XLVIII. — More Coptic inscriptions. Copies n°s 34-41, p. 39-41.

1. 0 m. 29 cent. by 0 m. 28 cent.

2. 0 m. 30 cent. by 0 m. 20 cent. From sebakh.

3. 0 m. 67 cent. by 0 m. 38 cent.

4. About 0 m. 35 cent. wide.

5. About 0 m. 35 cent. wide.

6. From the pavement before the altar.

7. Used face downwards in the pavement at the entrance of room 703.

8. Inscription from room 744. Fayumic dialect.

PLATE XLIX. — 1. Unfinished epitaph (0 m. 45 cent. by 0 m. 35 cent.) from south of bake-house (710). Jeremias and Enoch appear between the Trinity and the Archangels. Copy n° 42, p. 41.

2. Unfinished inscription from pavement before the altar in the church. Copy n° 43, p. 42.

3. Inscription from sebakh. N° 44, p. 42.

4. Inscription from room 787. N° 45, p. 42.

5. Two fragments, the larger 0 m. 56 cent. wide. N° 46, p. 42.

PLATE L. — 1. Inscription from the west wall of room 1704, high up and close to the door into 1701. Written in a cursive and rather illegible hand and apparently one of the latest of the graffiti. Copy n° 90, p. 54.

2. From room 727, as yet but partially excavated, from the east wall. The inscription is older than the running pattern in red paint which obscures it. The text is in black, the rope border black, white and yellow : it gives or gave the anniversaries of the birth, consecration and death of the two founders. Copy n° 91, p. 54.

3. From room 728 below the window south of the niche, visible also in plate VII. Copy n° 92.

4. Arabic inscription scored on the right side of the large stairway (pl. III), not in ancient Kufic but in a script of about 1000 A. D. as Prof. Moritz and Marcos Bey Simaika both inform me.

Plate LI. — 1. Part of a small marble plaque, 0 m. 23 cent. high, with a Greek inscription.

2. Part of a marble altar-top (?) with inscription in Greek hexameters (breadth 0 m. 72 cent.).

3. Slab from an Old Kingdom mastaba used as a paving-stone in the mandara south of the church. It depicts a fishing scene.

4. Paving stone from the corridor north of the church, near the south door of 1705, from a XIXth Dynasty tomb. The inscribed side was underneath.

Plate LII. — Large quartzite stela of Nekhthorheb, 1 m. 63 cent. high, employed as threshold in the south door of room 705. The inscription was uppermost and has suffered much from the monks' sandy feet. The heads of the king and the bull have been wilfully destroyed. In the square hole the door was pivoted. Copy and translation p. 89.

Plate LIII. — A view, taken from the summit of the pyramid of Teta, of the excavations in the temple. On the right is the small pyramid described in the last report. Three of the XIXth Dynasty shafts have been left, standing now as towers above the Old Kingdom pavement. A great deal of this pavement has been ripped out; on the right it is better preserved and the lowest course of two walls also remains. One large block from the roof is to be seen. On the left side there is a drainage-channel running below the pavement.

Beyond is the yet unexcavated part of the temple site covered with some metres of limestone-chip.

Plate LIV. — The main pieces of relief from the temple walls. In one piece is a bronze inlaid eye still in position.

1. The spirits of Pe; the only large block.

2. 0 m. 55 cent. by 0 m. 48 cent.

3. 1 m. 04 cent. long. From a Sed-heb scene.

4. 0 m. 52 cent. by 0 m. 25 cent.

Figure of a princess (?), not known hitherto.

5. 0 m. 55 cent. by 0 m. 30 cent.

Reads .

6. 0 m. 55 cent. long.

7. 1 metre by 0 m. 30 cent.

Text on left : .

Plate LV. — A death-mask of rough plaster found in the temple at the north-west corner, at some height (ca. 0 m. 70 cent.) above the floor.

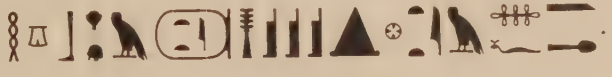
The photograph of the mask itself (1) is not a success as it gives an effect of relief to those parts of the face which are sunk deepest. From the mould a cast was made at the Museum by Herr Fanghaenel, and of this Brugsch Pasha took two views. These (2, 3) are on slightly different scales and much larger than (1).

The face is a remarkable one : it is easy to believe that this person was of importance in his day. Now, of whom could a death-mask be needed in the temple of Teta save of Teta himself or, possibly, his queen? It may well be that statues of the king were made close by, as those of Usertesen Ist at Lisht are said to have been, and that this mask, after serving its purpose as a model to the sculptors, was buried in the sand which would collect outside the temple wall, and has been preserved through all the quarrying that the site has since undergone.

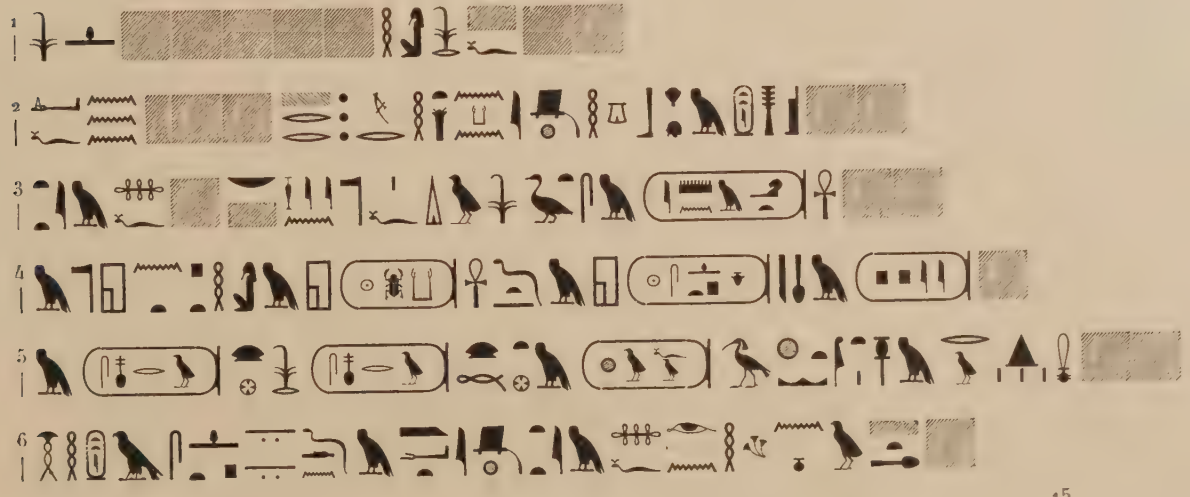
It is easier to suppose that this is the very death-mask of Teta than that the mask of another great personage should have been left here with no other proof or suggestion of a monument in his honour having existed. There is, we may at least say, a presumption, though by no means a sure proof, that we have here a mould taken from the face of Teta immediately after his death.

Plate LVI. — Two views of a head of a limestone statue of the Old Empire, found in the temple of the pyramid of Teta (height 0 m. 21 cent.).

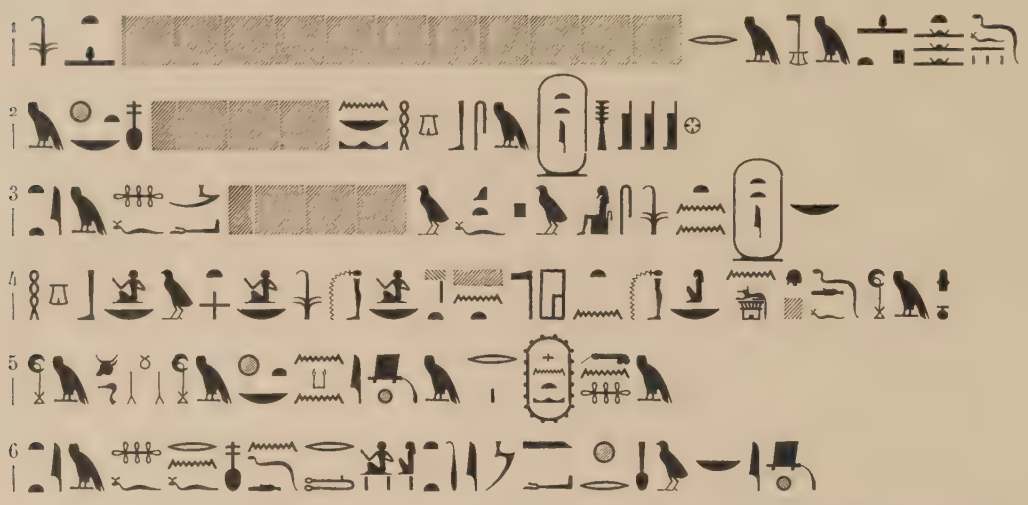
Plate LVII. — 1, 2 and 3. A squatting statue of limestone from the pyramid temple (height 0 m. 70 cent.). Three views are given, as the text is of some interest from the large number of pyramid temples in which Teta-em-saf held office.

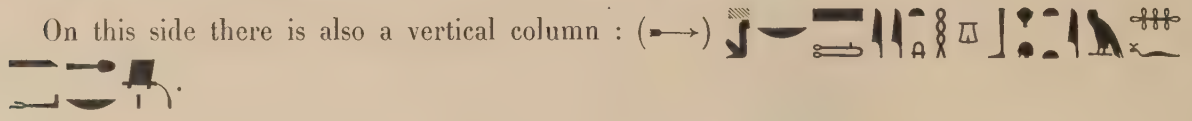
Vertical column in front : (⟶) 

On the left side of the statue are six lines :



On the right side of the statue are six lines : (→)



On this side there is also a vertical column : (→)  .

4. Two small stelæ (0 m. 28 cent. and 0 m. 27 cent. wide) of the XIXth Dynasty found in the pyramid temple. One is interesting as showing the deified Teta. Better stelæ of this period were found in the earlier digging on this site by Barsanti.

5. An alabaster vase, 0 m. 25 cent. high, with an incised inscription of Rameses II, the two cartouches with «beloved of Bast and Sekhmet».

6. A table of offerings (0 m. 54 cent. × 0 m. 36 cent. × 0 m. 24 cent.) from the XIXth Dynasty level in the temple.

Plate LVIII. — An interment (2) found in the débris of the Teta temple with the small objects (1, 3, 4) laid with it. The man was buried in a mat of stems of palm-leaves, on a slope, north and south, among rather large stones. Some of the bones were broken : the body may have been moved since it was buried. By the knees to the left side lay a very perfect draught-board of solid wood with a small drawer at the end : in this were two wooden knuckle-bones and ten wooden draughtmen, five tall and five flat, with an extra disc of faience. Below the head was a wooden pillow 0 m. 28 cent. long, with a fluted stem, and near it an alabaster vase, a reed kohl tube and a dangerous looking kohl-stick of bronze with a wooden handle. Behind were two staffs, 1 m. 30 cent. long, one with the bark on, the other peeled. On and near the fingers were three rings of faience, two bearing names of Sety Ist, thus and and a scarab of Thothmes III inscribed .

PLATE LIX. — The designs on the two faces of the draught-board and the inscriptions along the sides.

PLATE LX. — Head of a lifesize wooden statue from the serdab of Rashepses. The hair is painted black, the face red : the eyes are executed with great care and the small veins in the eyeball indicated. There is over the wood a thin layer of plaster on which the colour was laid with a size medium. The wood has shrunk with time and the plaster has in places blistered up and is readily broken away.

PLATE LXI. — 1. Limestone stela of Khennu or Khonsu (height 0 m. 93 c.) from tomb n° 906.

Top line : (⟶) .

Left outer jamb : (⟶) .

Right outer jamb : (⟵) .

Inner jambs : and .

2. Photograph, taken by reflection in a mirror, of the royal rescript of Assa inscribed on the south side of the outer door of the tomb of Rashepses. Copy and translation on p. 79.

3, 4 and 5. Blocks from the forecourt of the mastaba of Kaemthenenet, 0 m. 80 cent., 0 m. 45 cent. and 1 m. 03 cent. long respectively. Copies and translation on p. 82-88.

PLATE LXII. — From tomb of Her-n-kau and Sekhem-Hathor.

1. East wall, north of door. Painted scene. Fishing, fish-curing.

2. East wall, south of door. Painted scene. Games, huntsman leading dog. Asses feeding in the desert (?), men heaping chopped straw into a stack, carrying away of corn.

PLATE LXIII. — From the same tomb. West wall, south stela.

PLATE LXIV. — West wall of Her-n-kau and Sekhem-Hathor. Between the two stelæ. Painted reliefs.

PLATE LXV. — Same tomb. West wall, north stela.

PLATE LXVI. — Same tomb.

1. South wall, painted only, unfinished.

2. North wall, painted only.

3. West wall, south of south stela. In relief.

4. West wall, north of north stela. Painted only.

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XV. . . . Bakery, narthex, gravestones.
XVI. . . . Capitals.
XVI *A*. . Capitals, a drawing.
XVII to XXVIII. . } Capitals.
XXIX. . . Capitals and base.
XXX. . . Door-posts.
XXXI to XXXVI. . } Friezes, lintels, cornices.
PLATE XXXVII. Conchs.
XXXVIII. Jar-stands, crosses.
XXXIX. . } Wood-work.
XL. . . . . }
XLI. . . . Ivory inlay, bronze.
XLII. . . Marble, lamps, bone, an ostracon.
XLIII. . . Architectural details.
XLIV to LI. . . . . } Inscriptions.
LII. . . . Nekhthorheb stela.
LIII. . . . Temple of Teta pyramid.
LIV. . . . Fragments from temple walls.
LV. . . . Death mask.
LVI. . . . Head of limestone statue.
LVII. . . Statue of Teta-em-saf.
LVIII. . . } Draught-board.
LIX. . . . }
LX. . . . Head of Rashepses.
LXI. . . . A stela, the Assa rescript, Kaem-thenenet.
LXII to LXVI. . . } Tomb of Hernkau and Sekhembathor.

ERRATA.

Page 25, n° 915, *read :* .

33, bottom line, *for :* Tuk, *read :* Tuki.

37, l. 14, *for :* bloe, *read :* block.

Page 39, l. 3, *for :* pl. XVII, *read :* pl. XLVII.

67, n° 139, l. 10, *for :* ΠΑΝΓΩΧ, *read :* ΠΑΝΤΩΧ.

PLAN OF MONASTERY.

CHURCH. FROM THE WEST.

CHURCH. FROM S.E.

EAST END OF CHURCH. FROM S.

EAST END OF CHURCH. FROM N.

PART OF CHURCH AND OUTER COURT. FROM W.

N. GROUP OF CHAMBERS. HOSPITAL (?).

SCREEN. IN ROOM 1706.

ALTAR IN CELL (709).

FRIEZE FROM A CELL (709).

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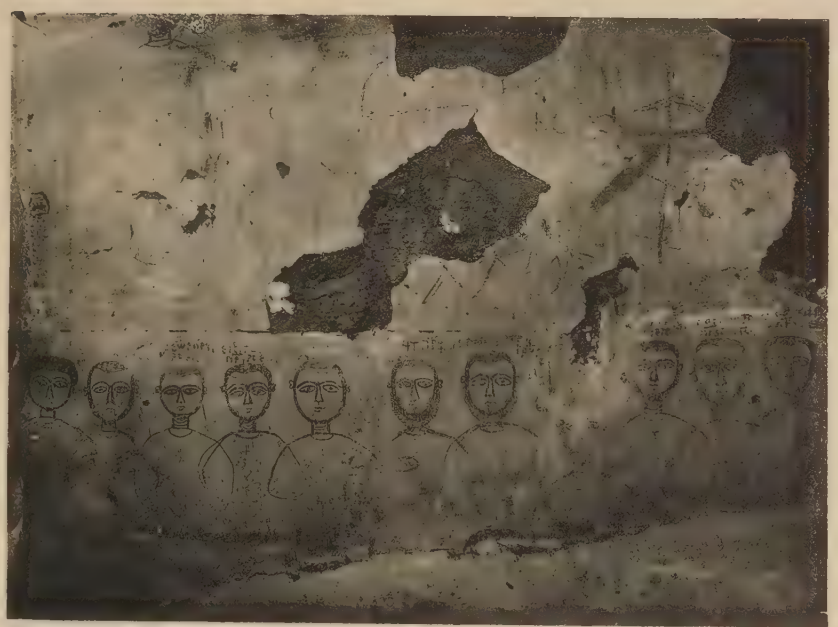

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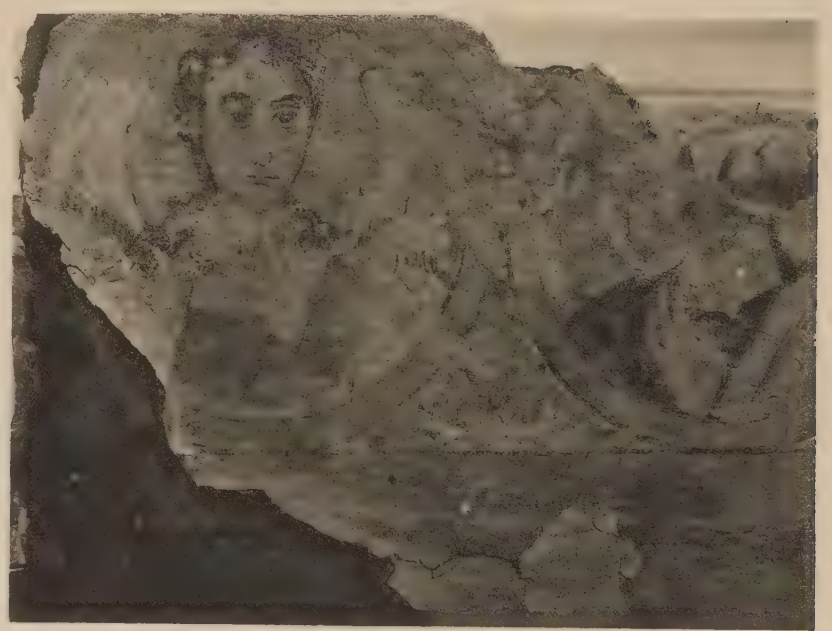

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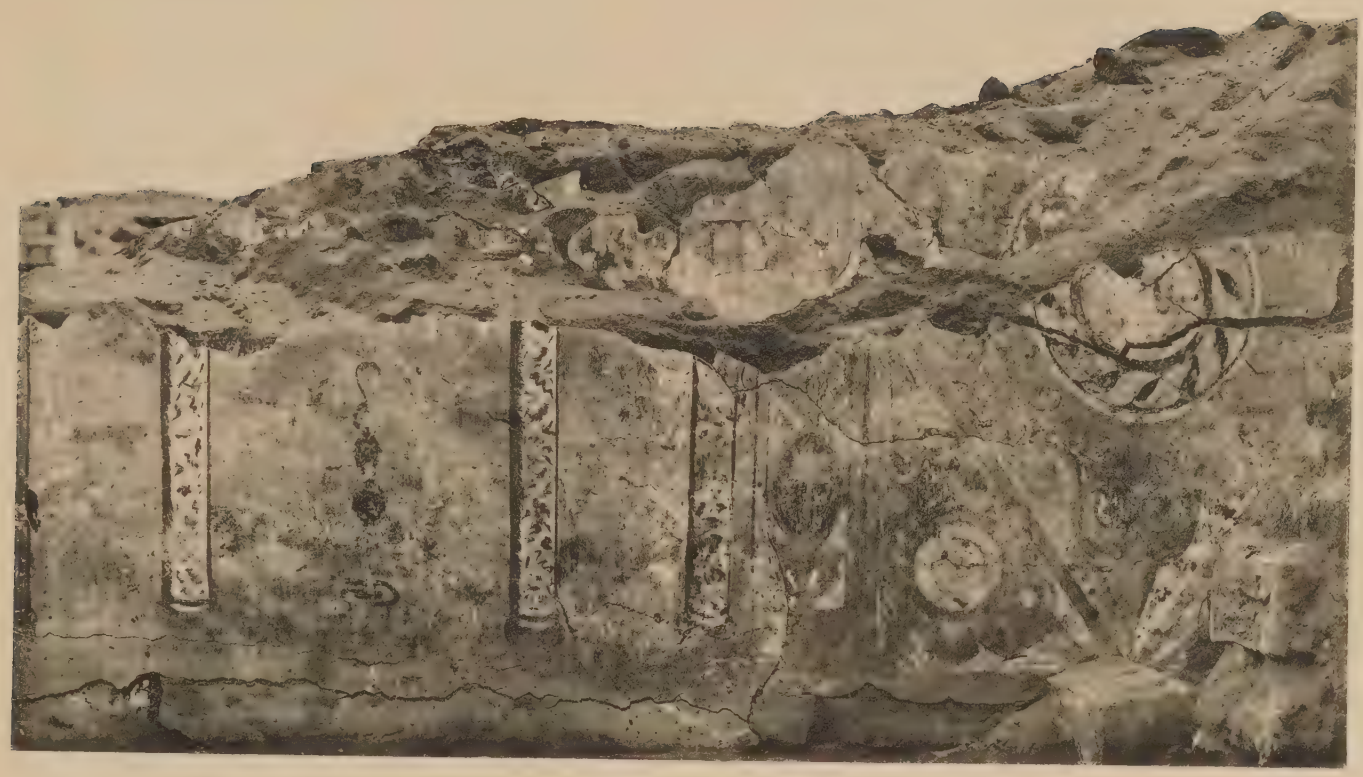

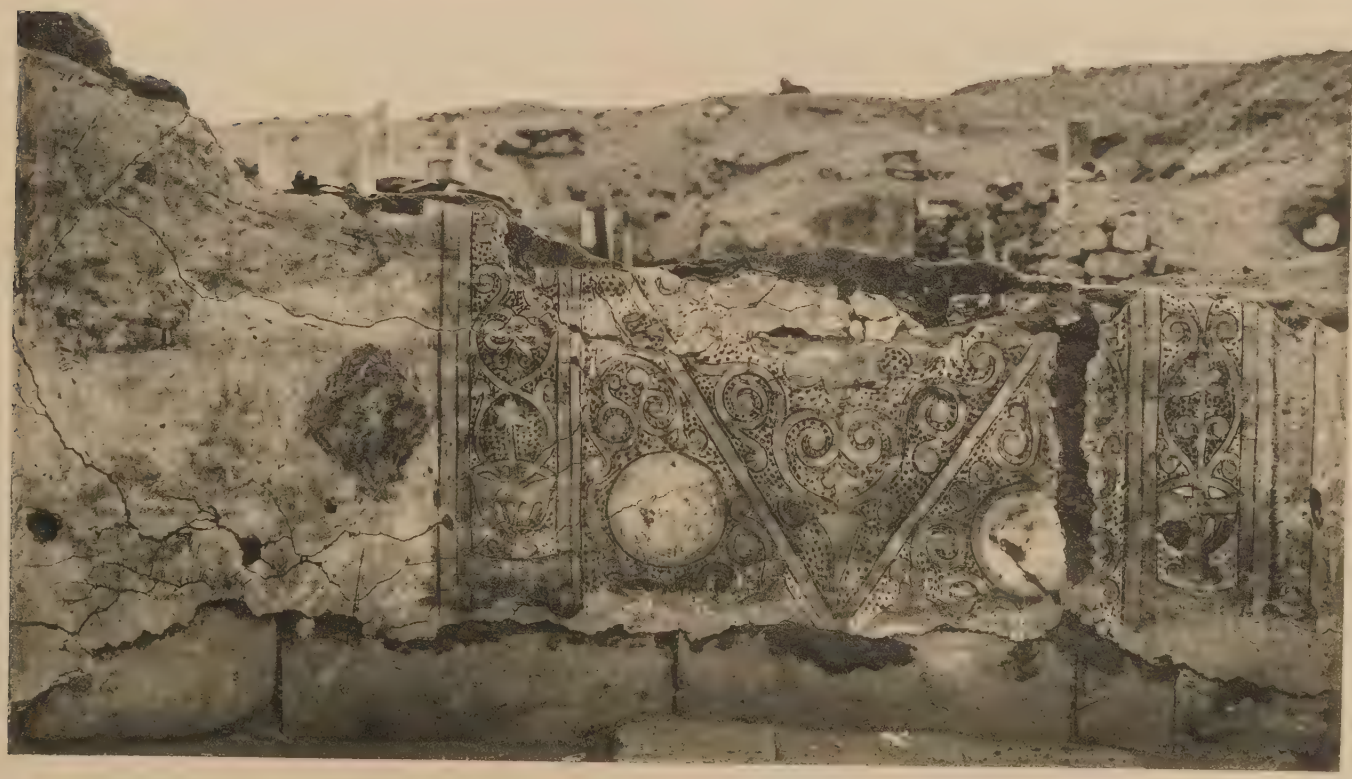

FROM ROOM OF APA IEPEMIAS.

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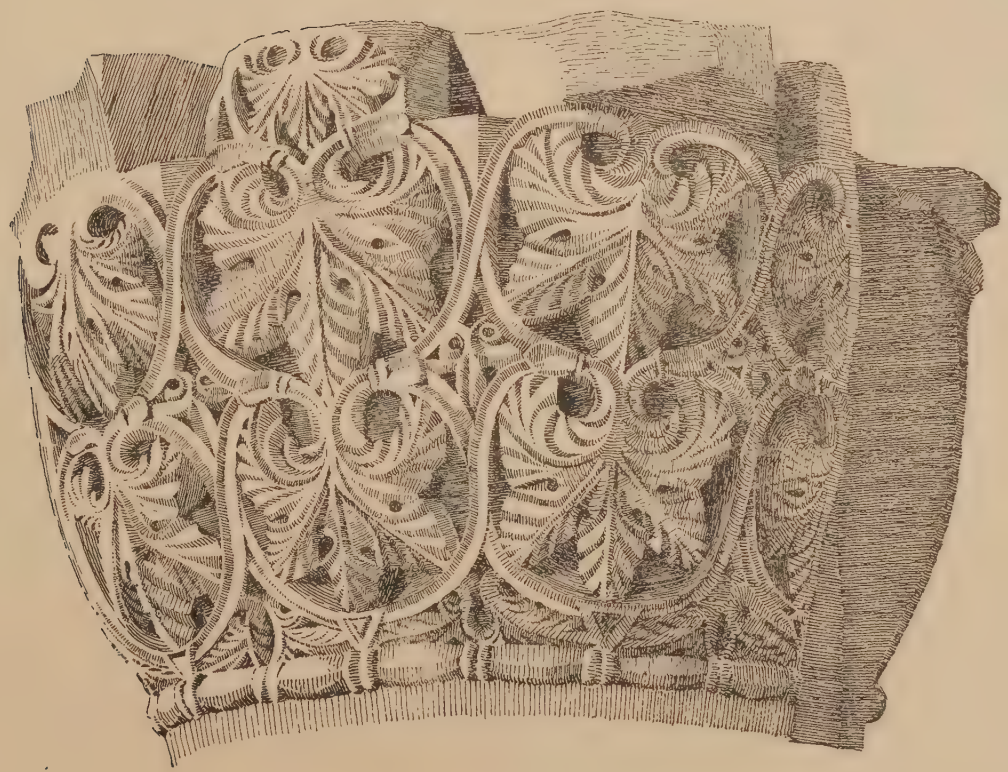

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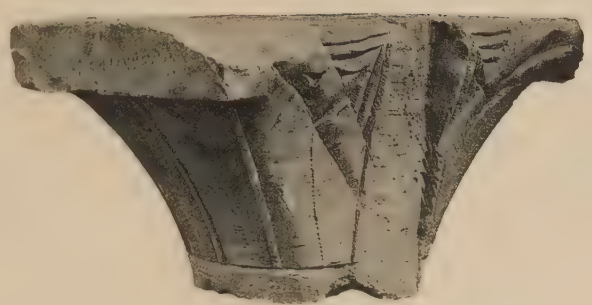

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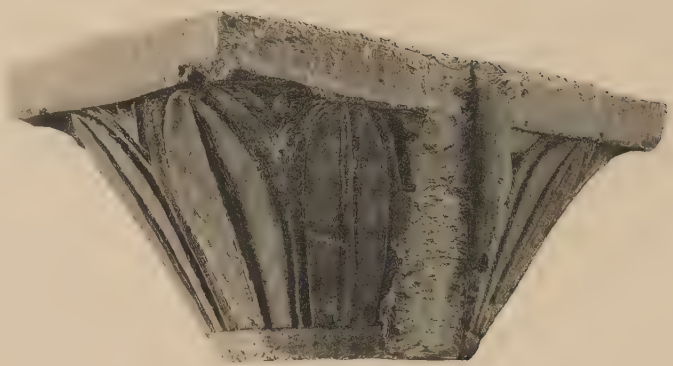

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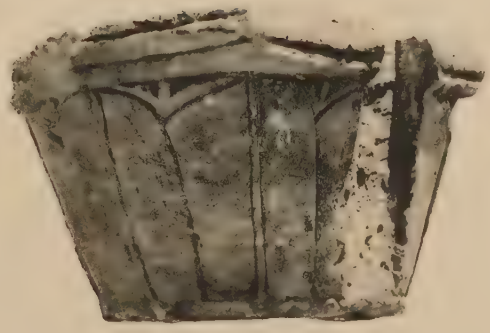

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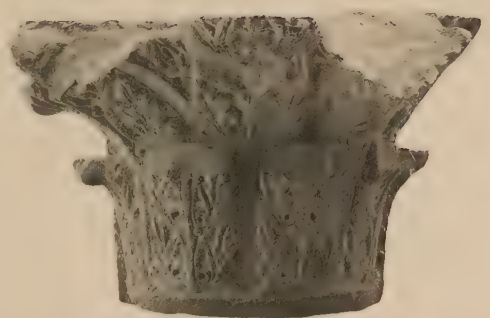

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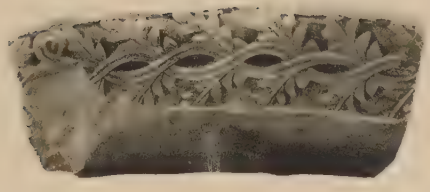

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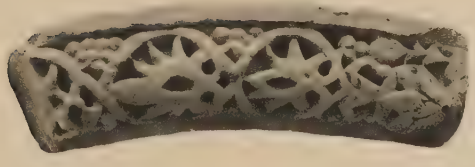

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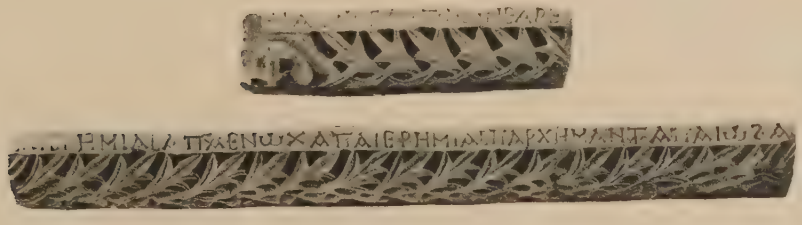

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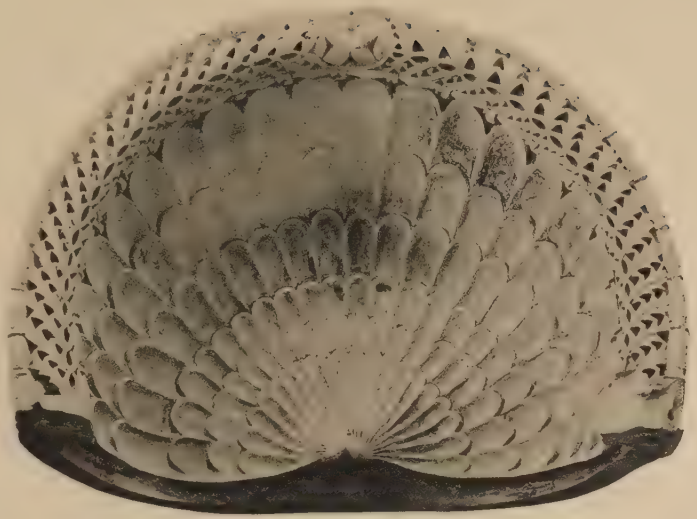

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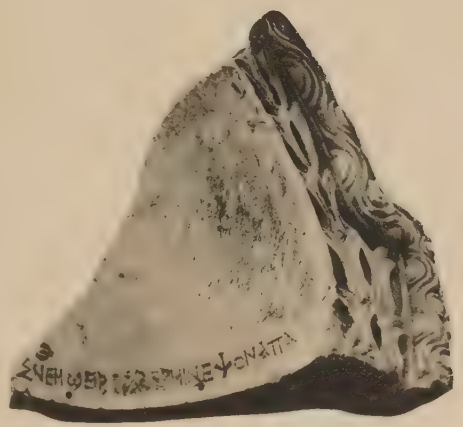

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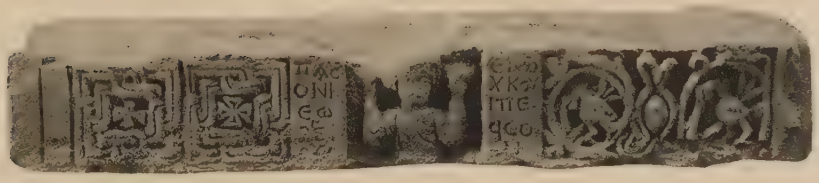

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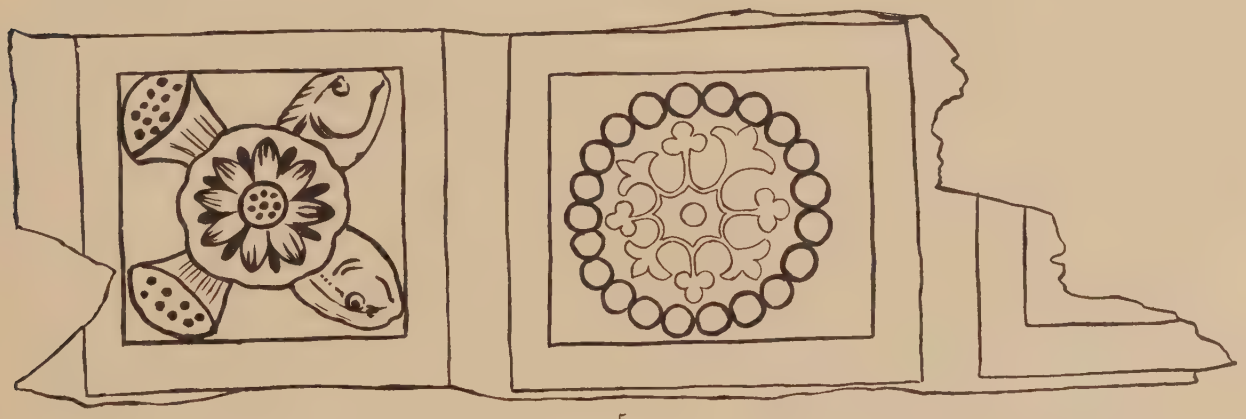

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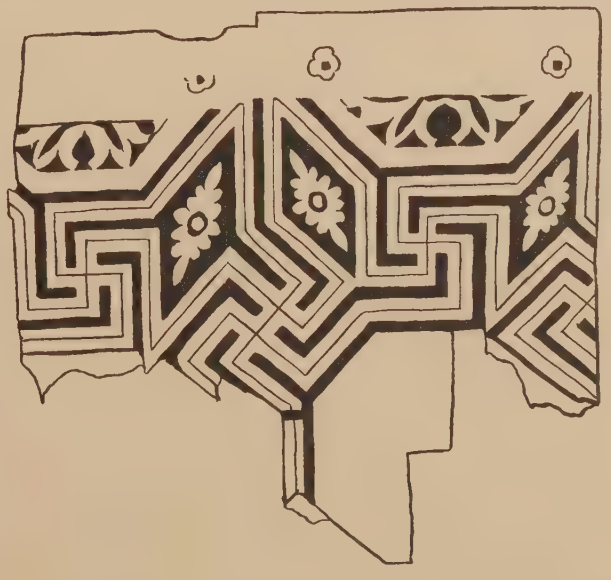

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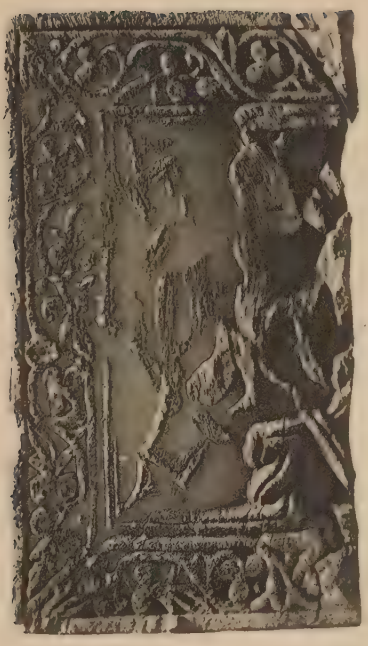

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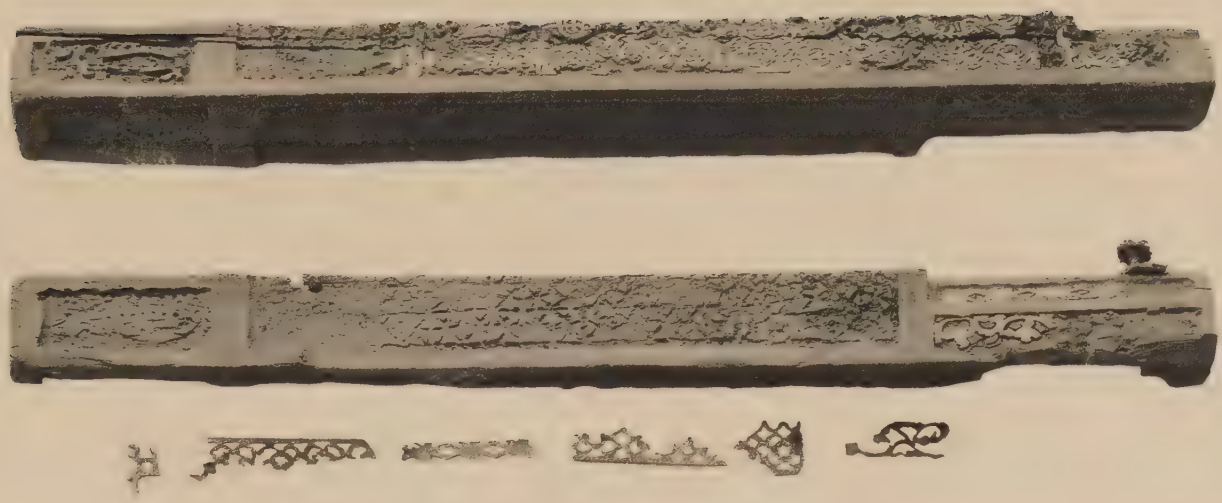

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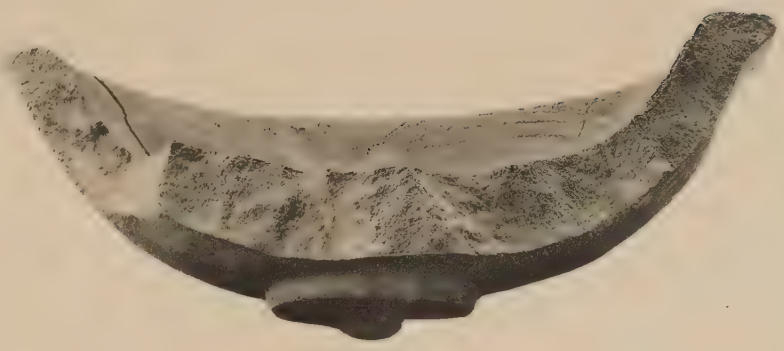

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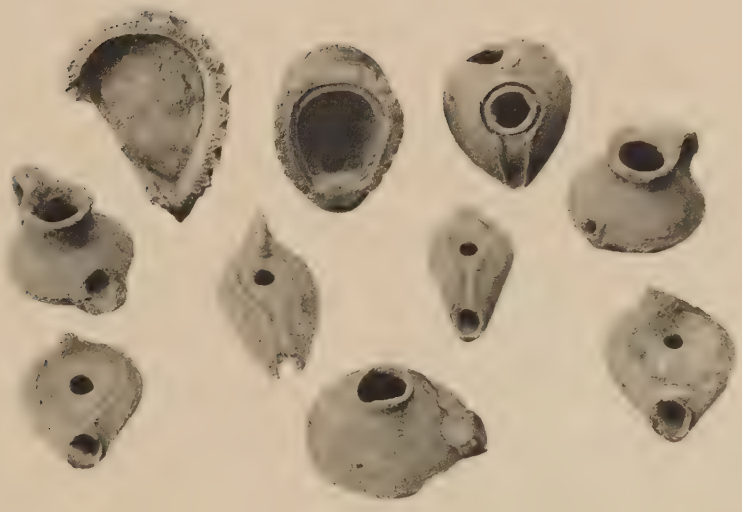

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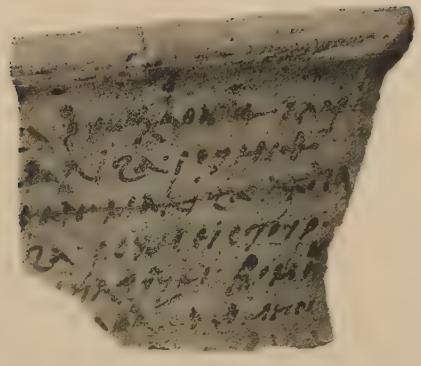

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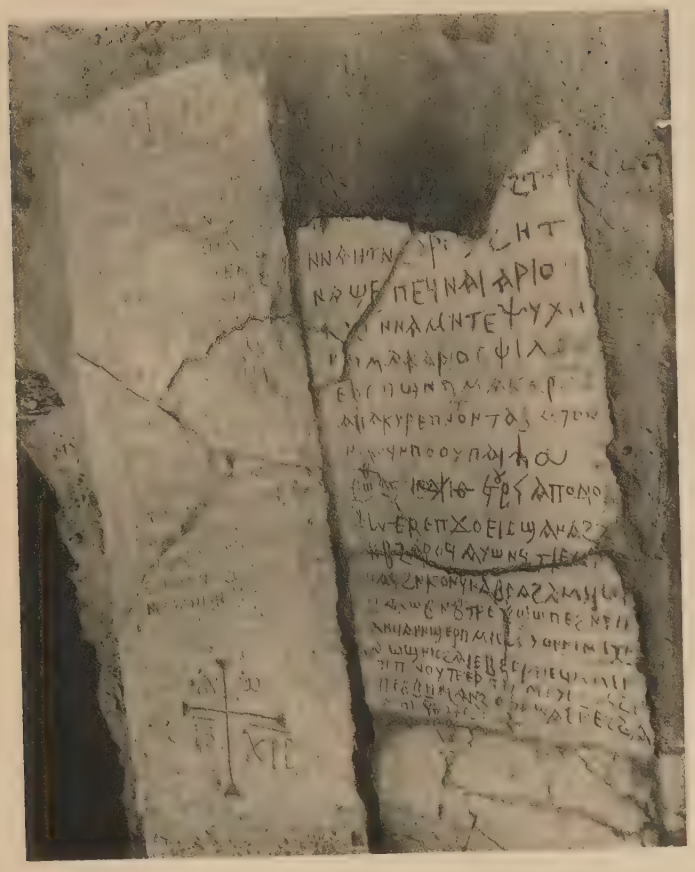

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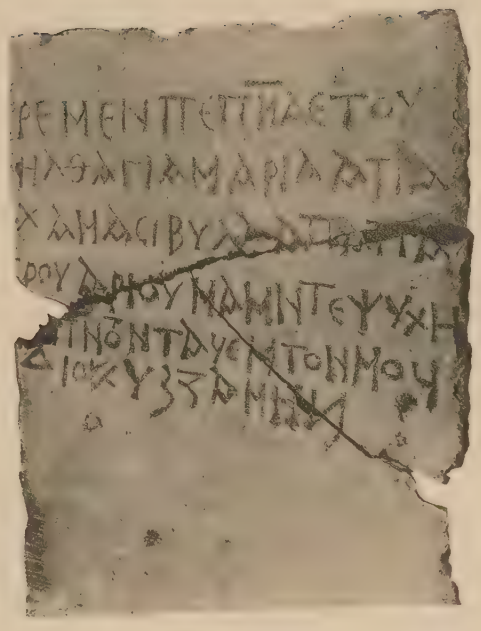

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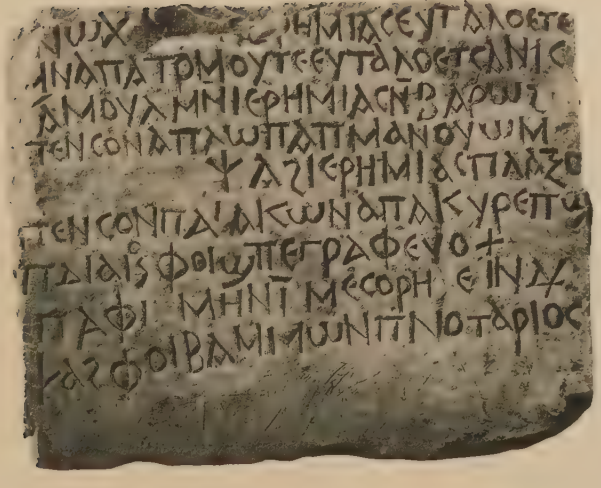

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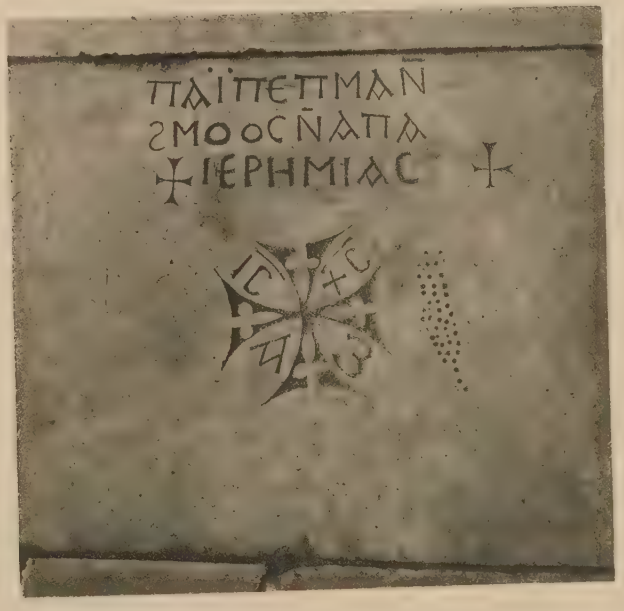

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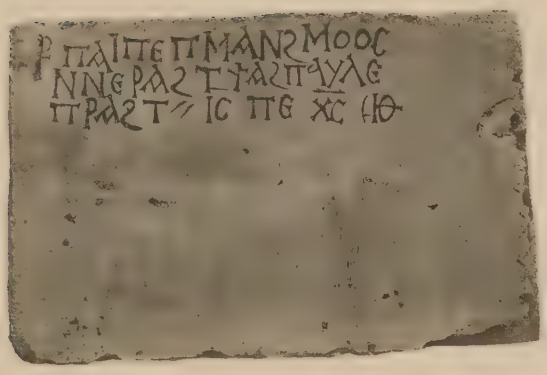

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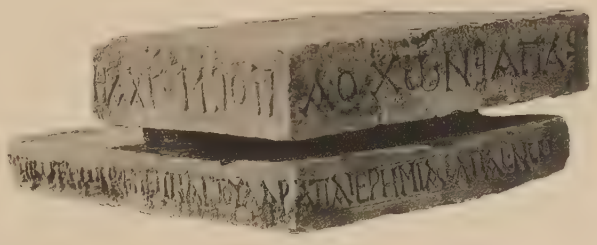

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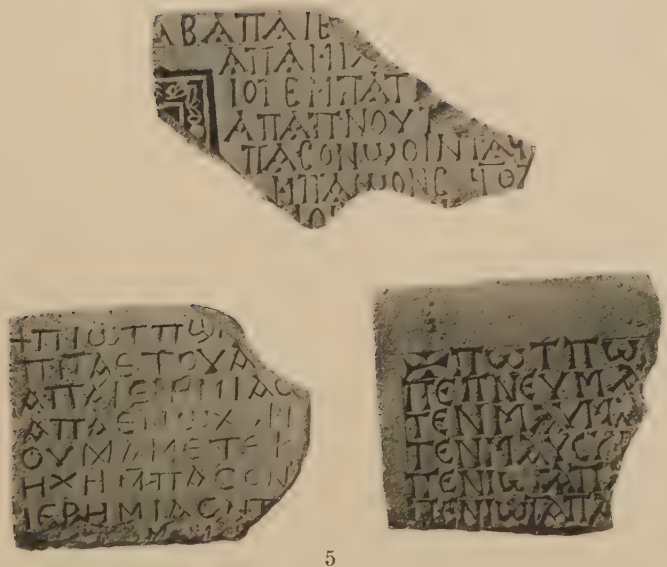

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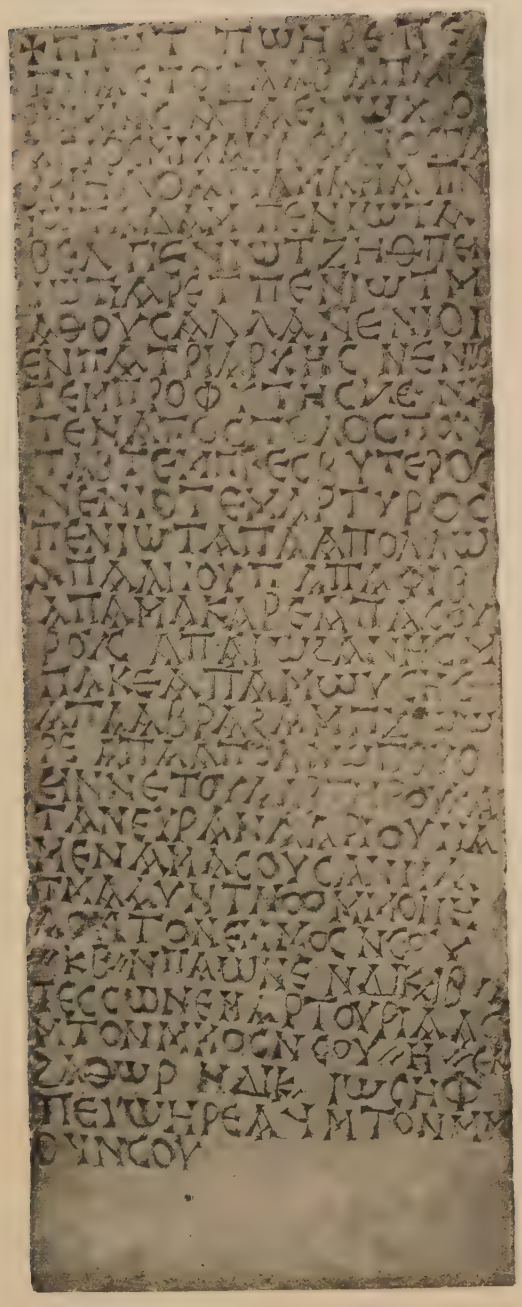

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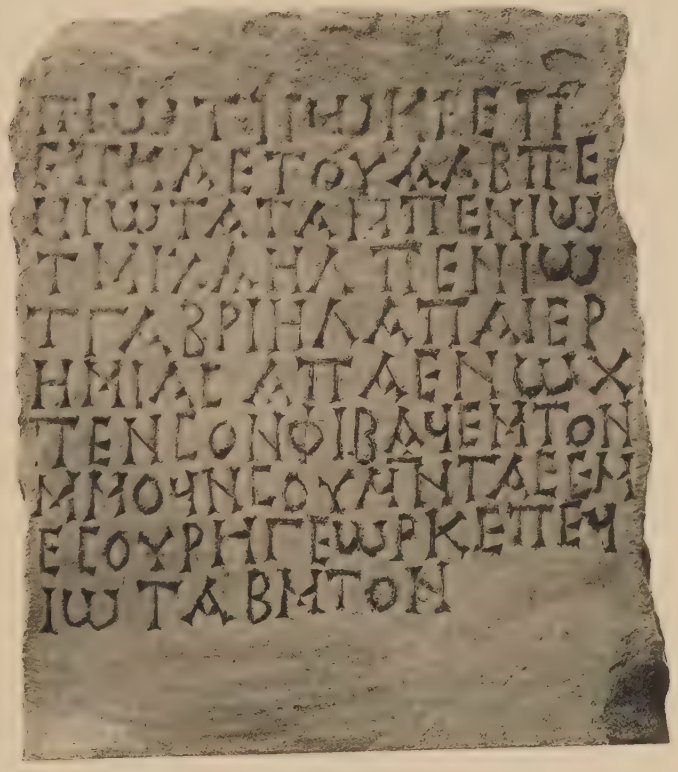

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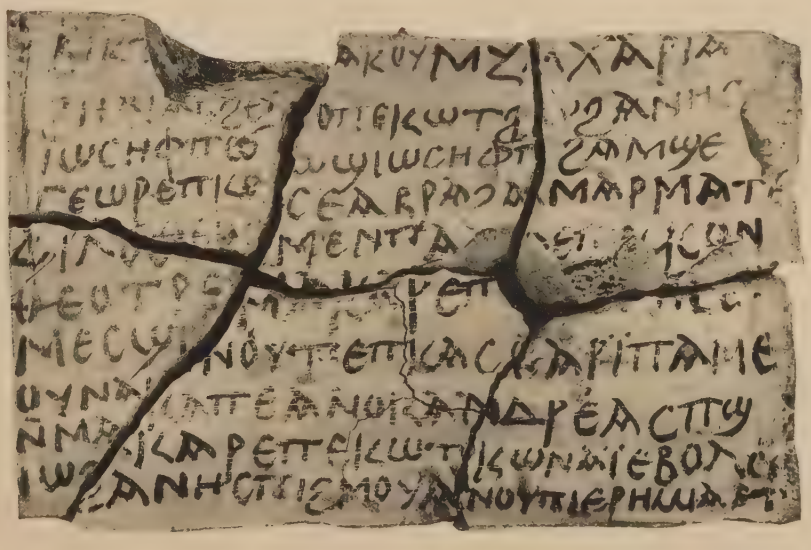

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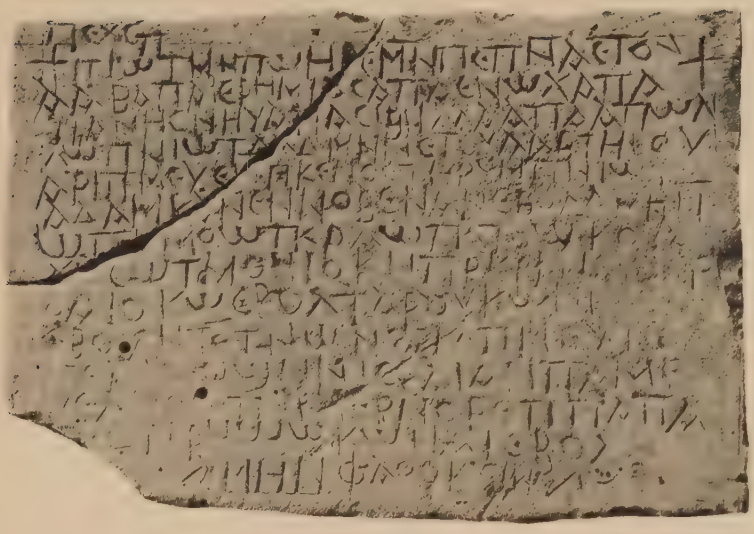

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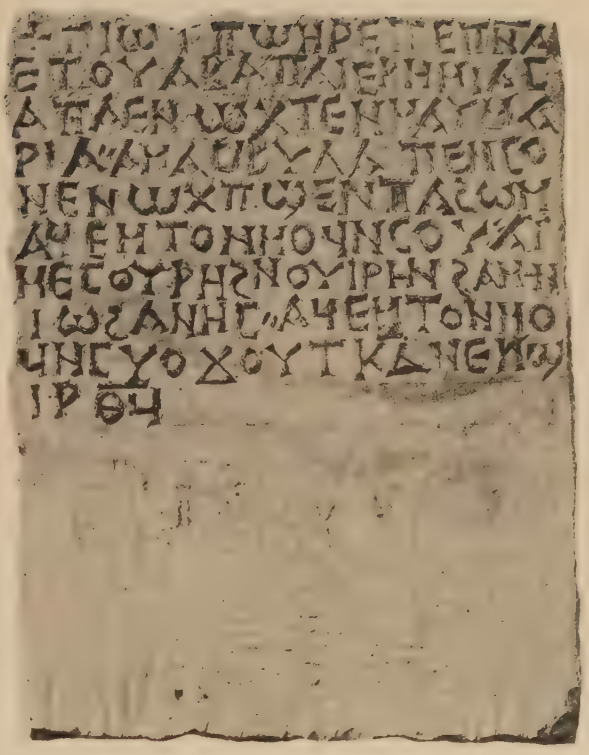

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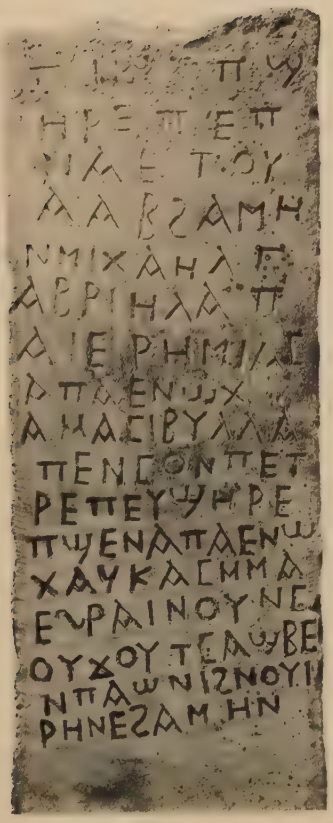

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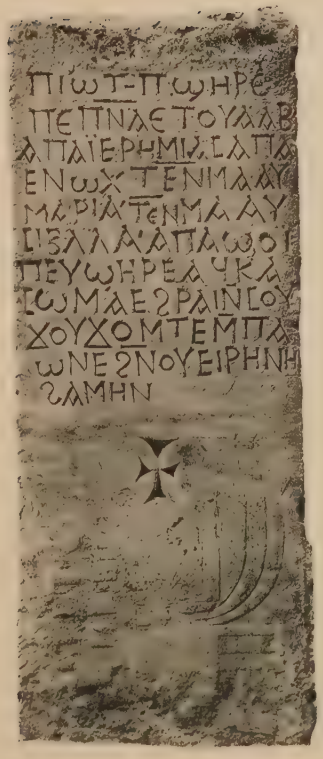

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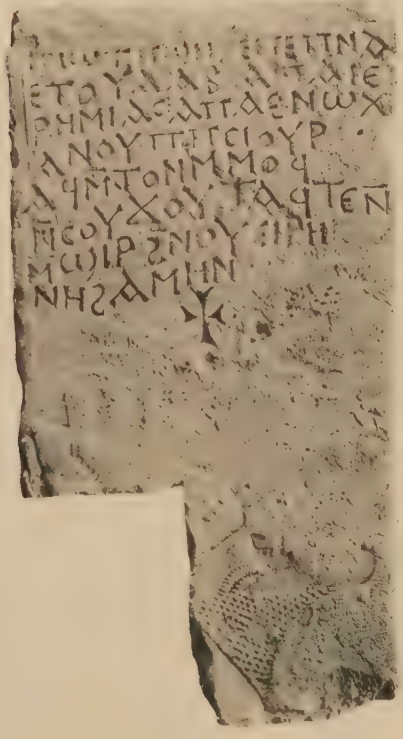

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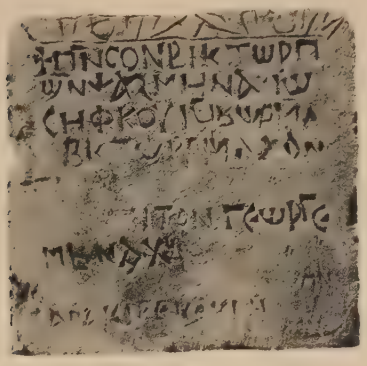

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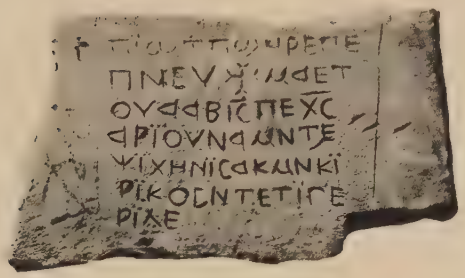

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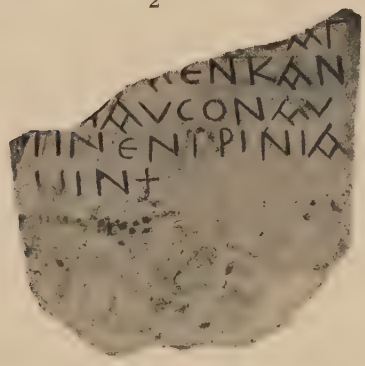

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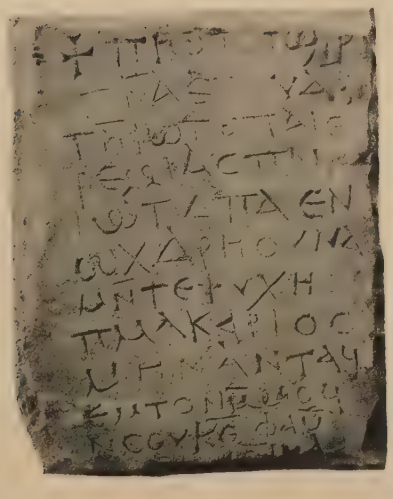

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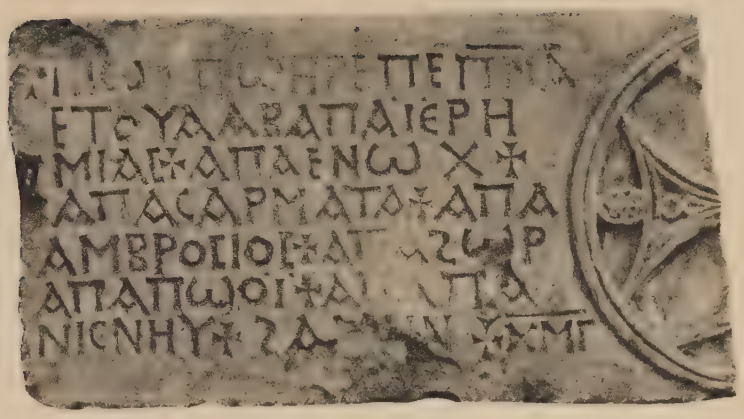

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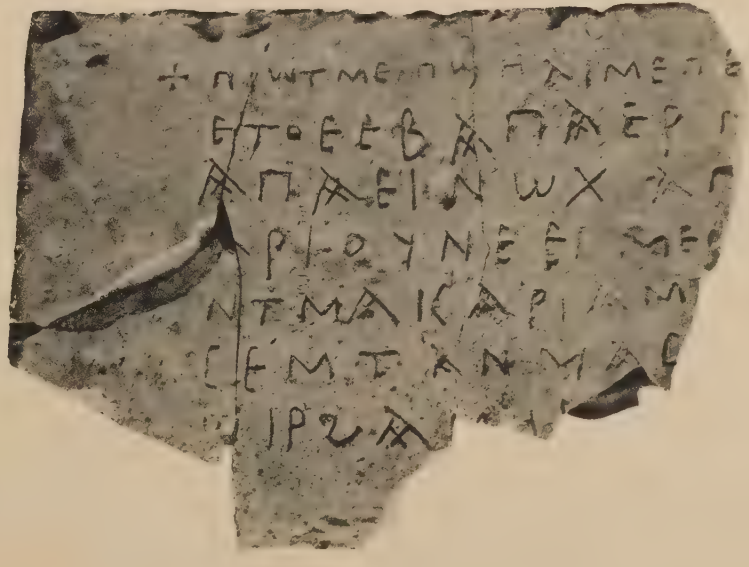

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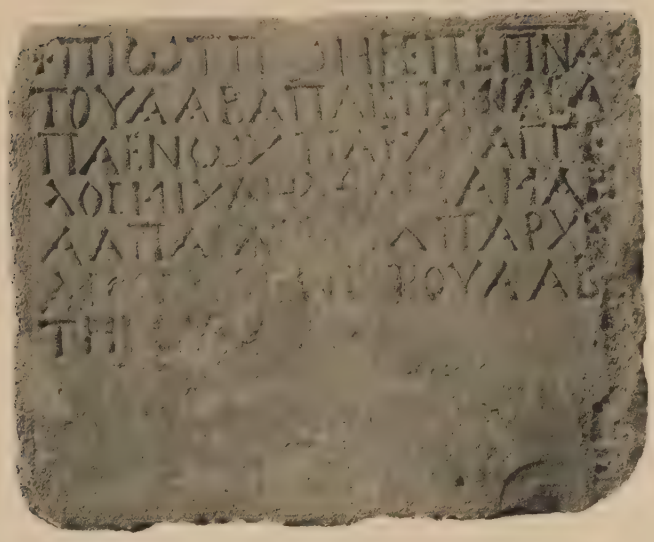

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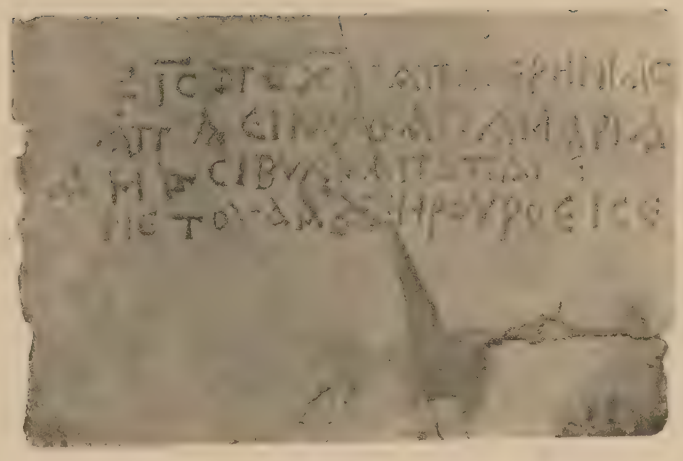

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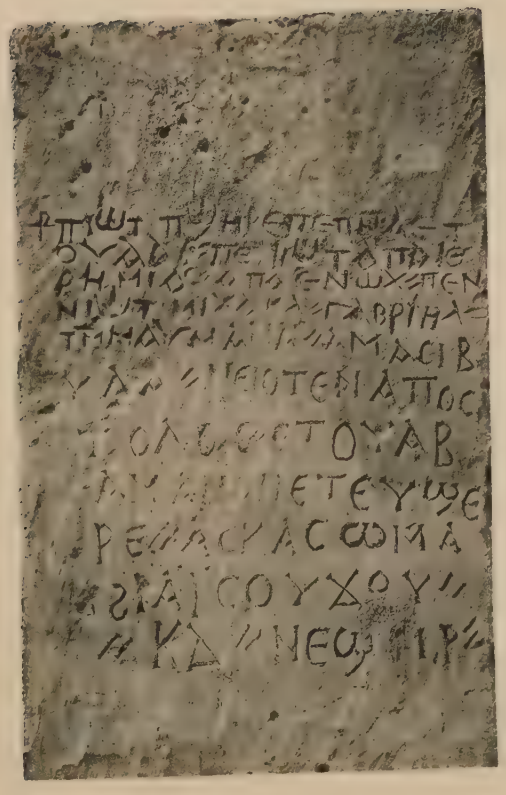

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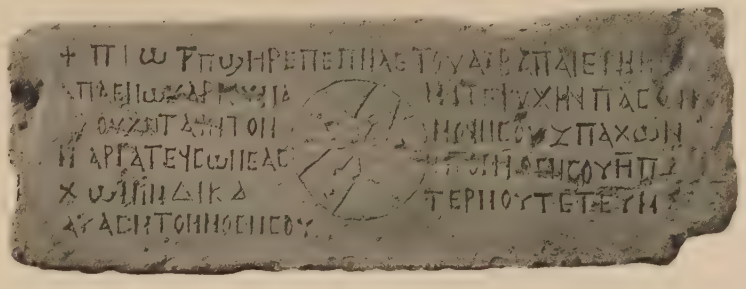

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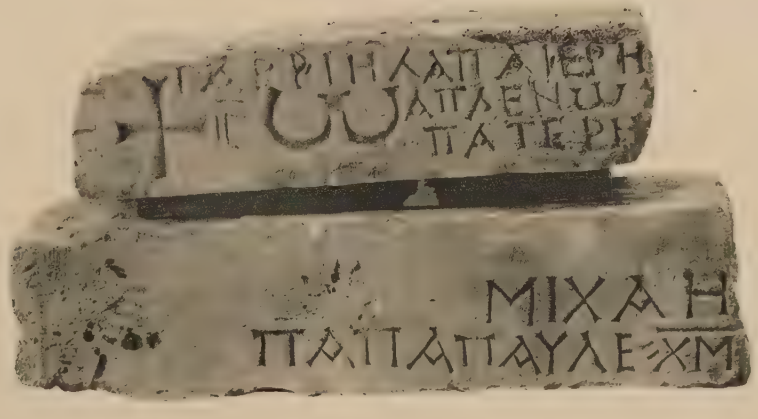

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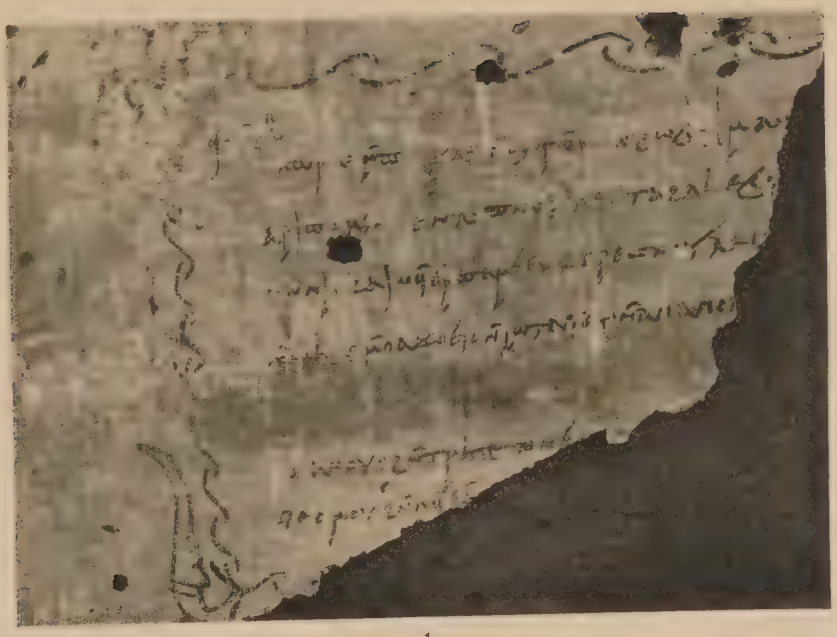

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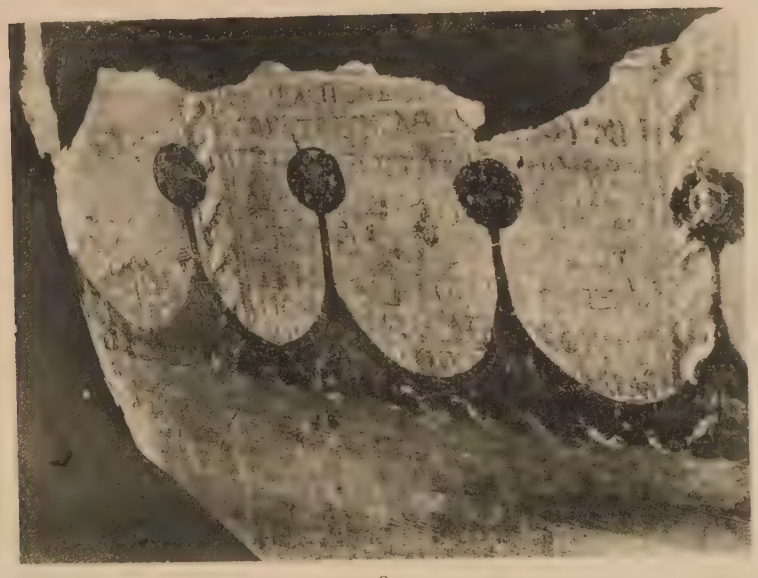

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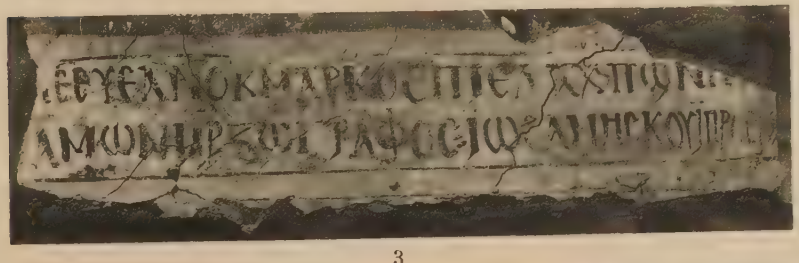

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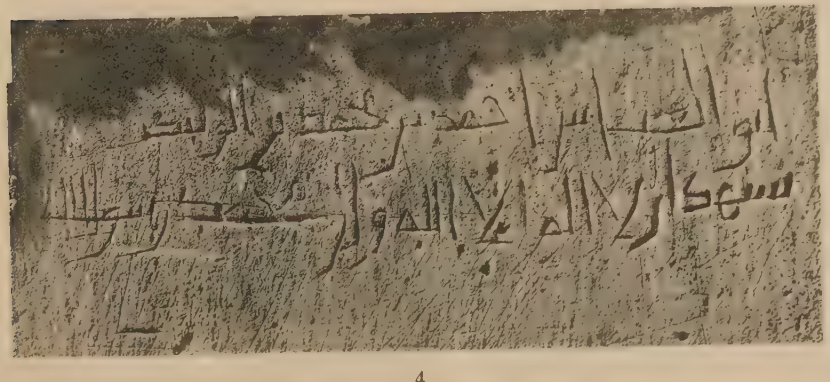

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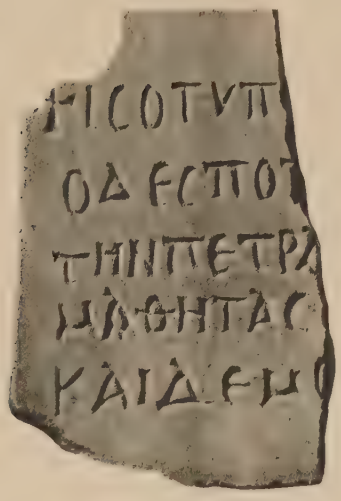

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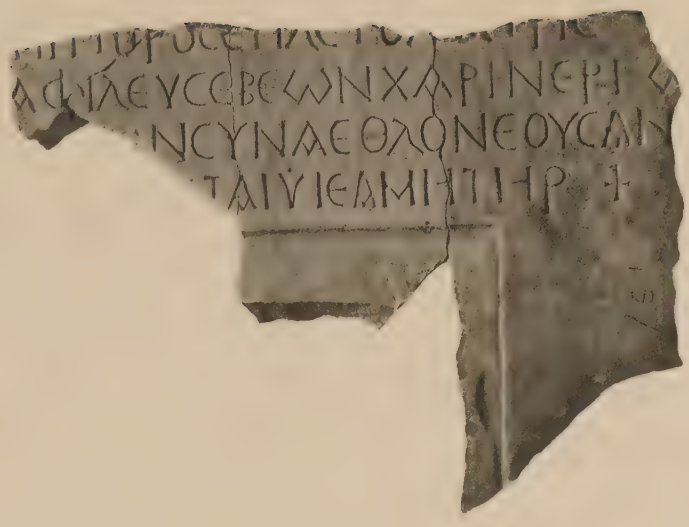

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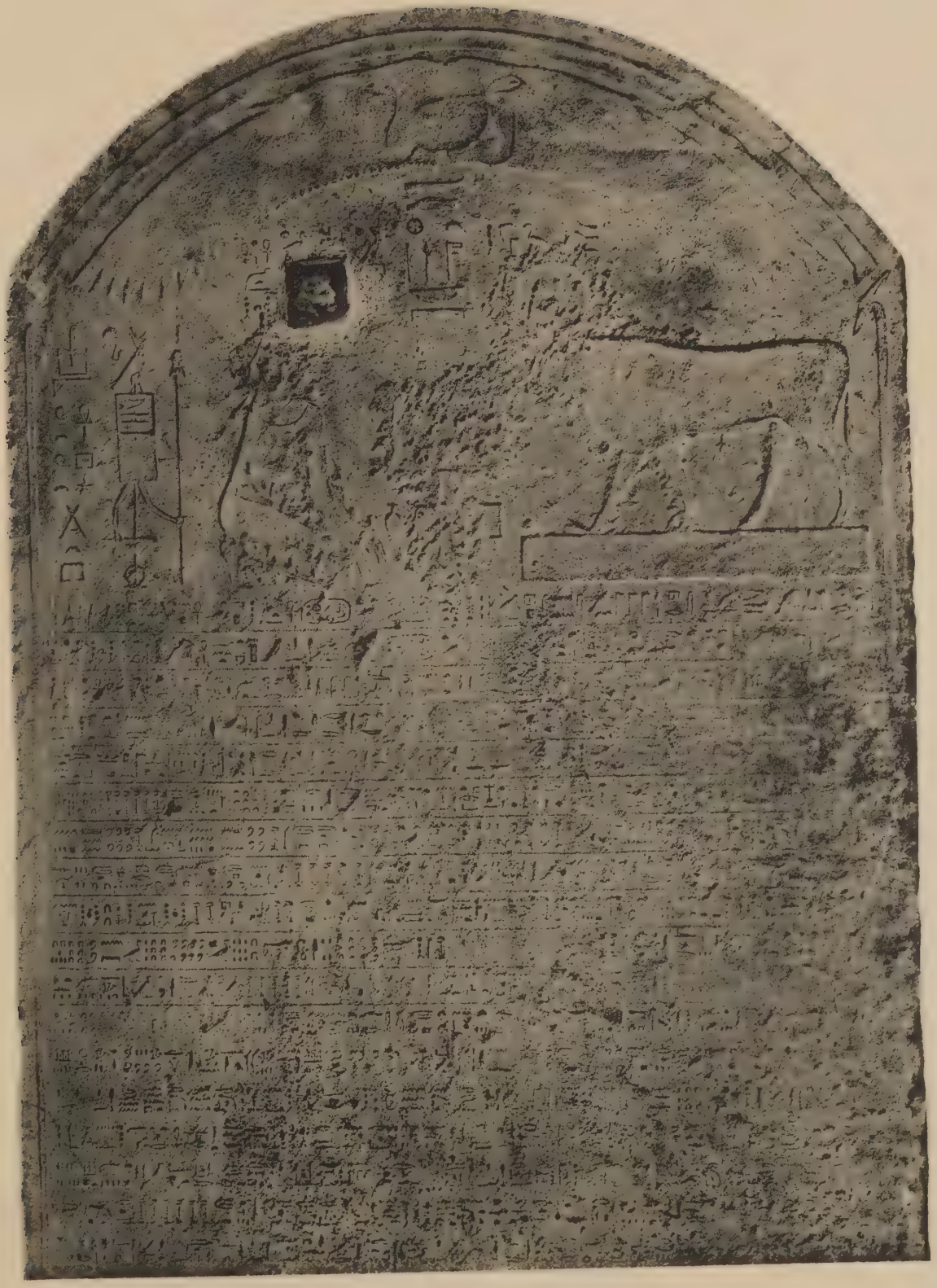
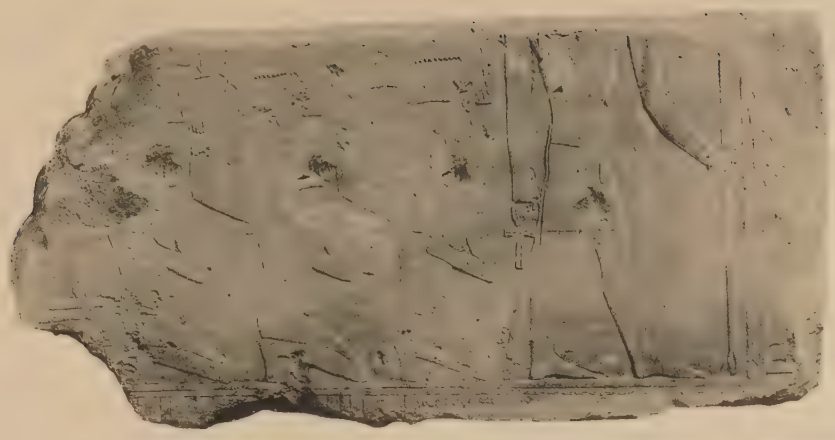


STELA OF NEKHTHORHEB. Height 1 m. 63.

TEMPLE OF TETA PYRAMID.



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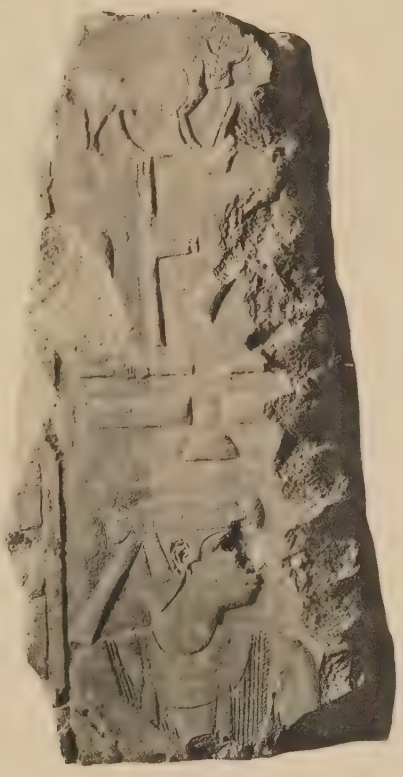

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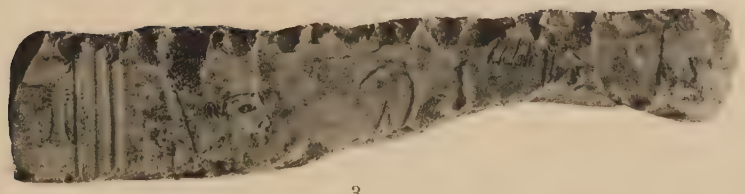

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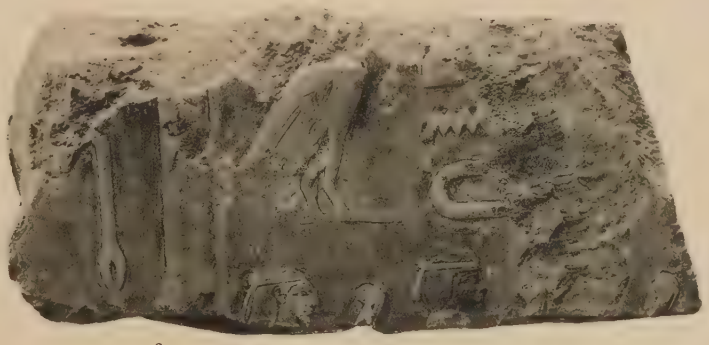

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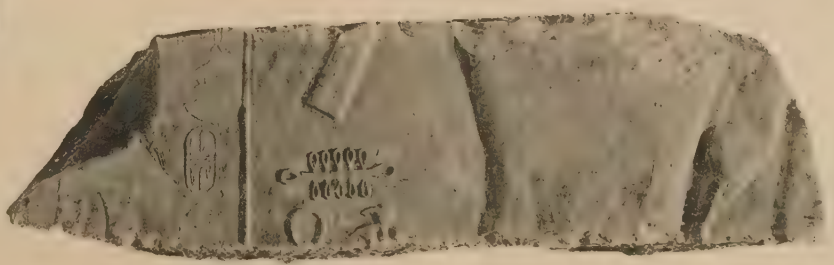

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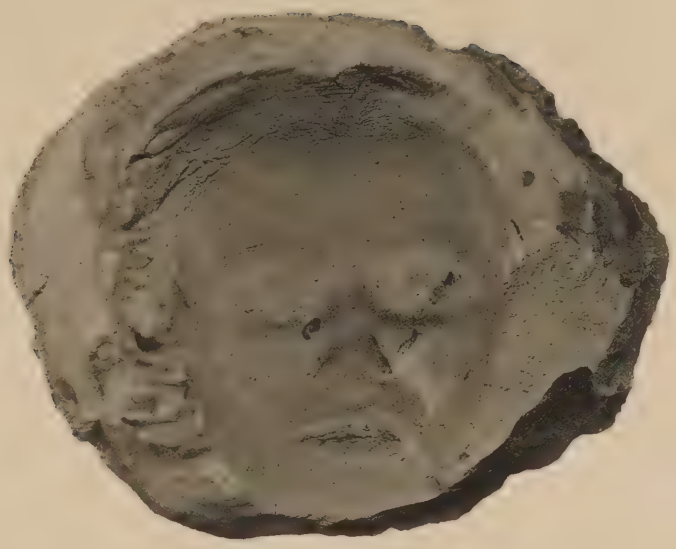
FROM TETA TEMPLE.



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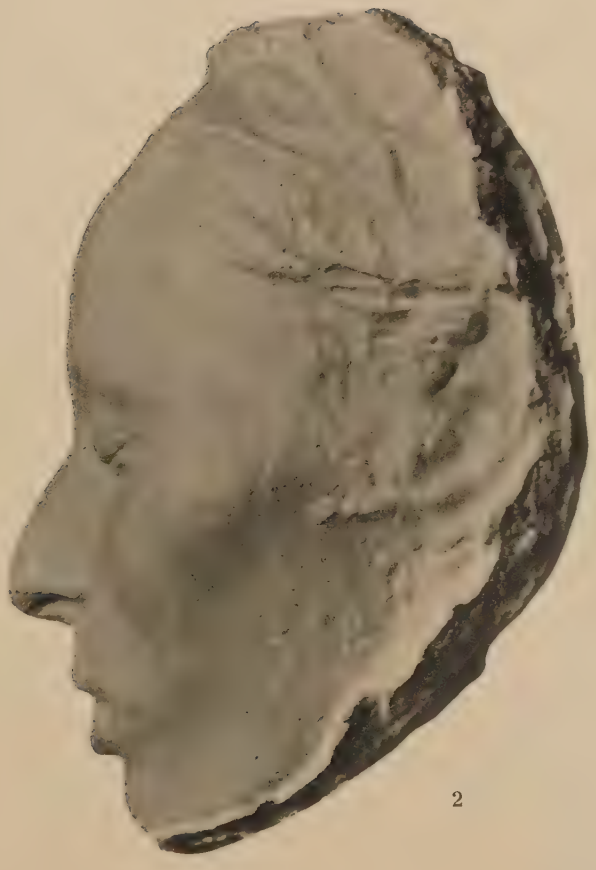

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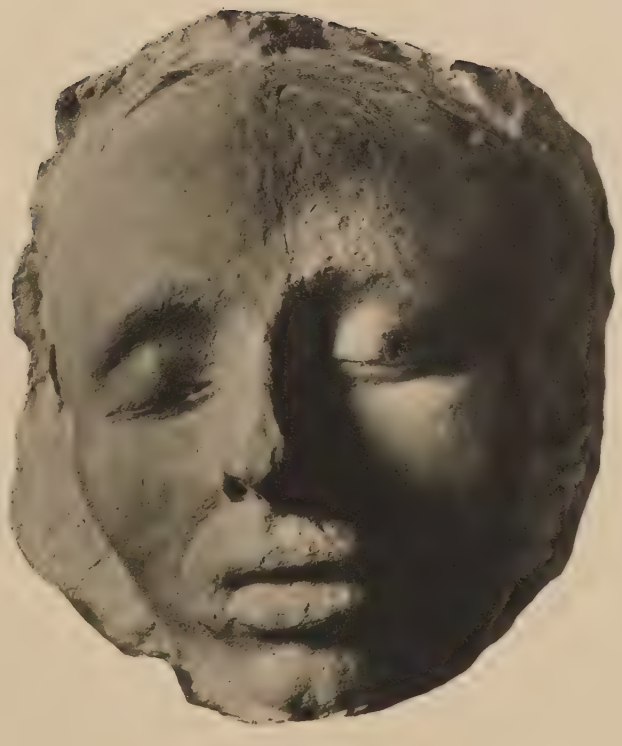

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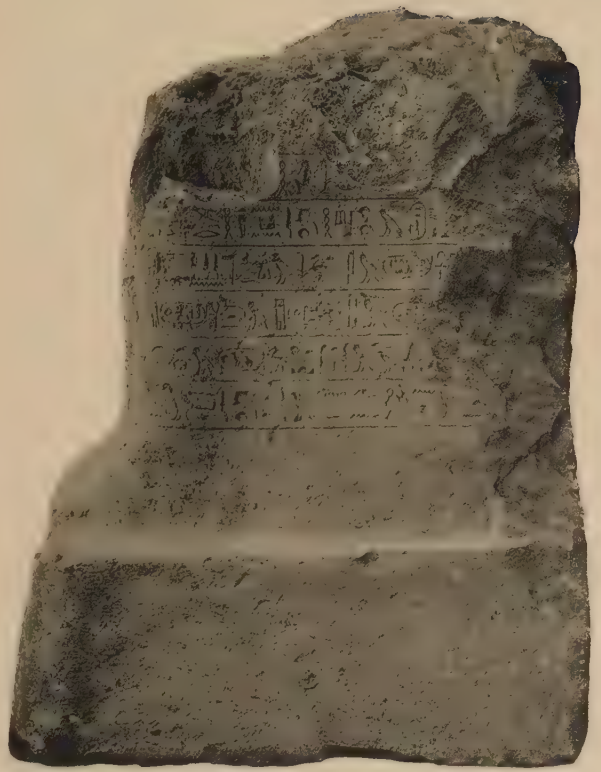
A DEATH-MASK



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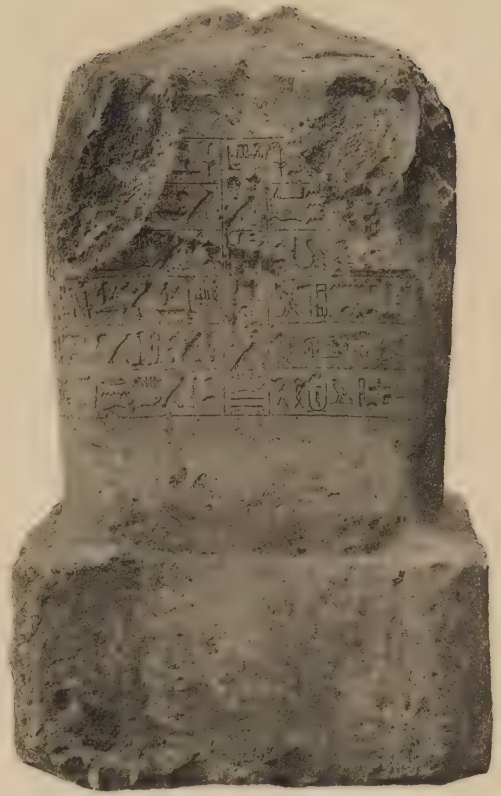

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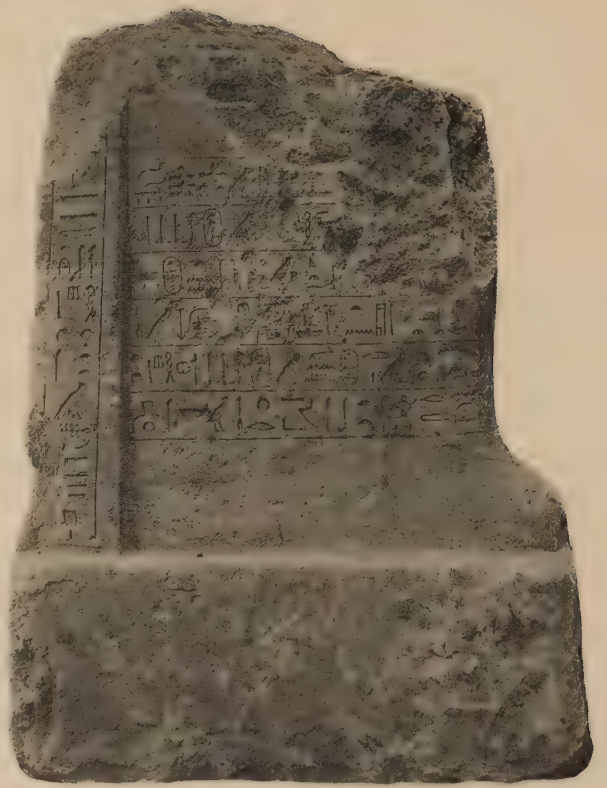

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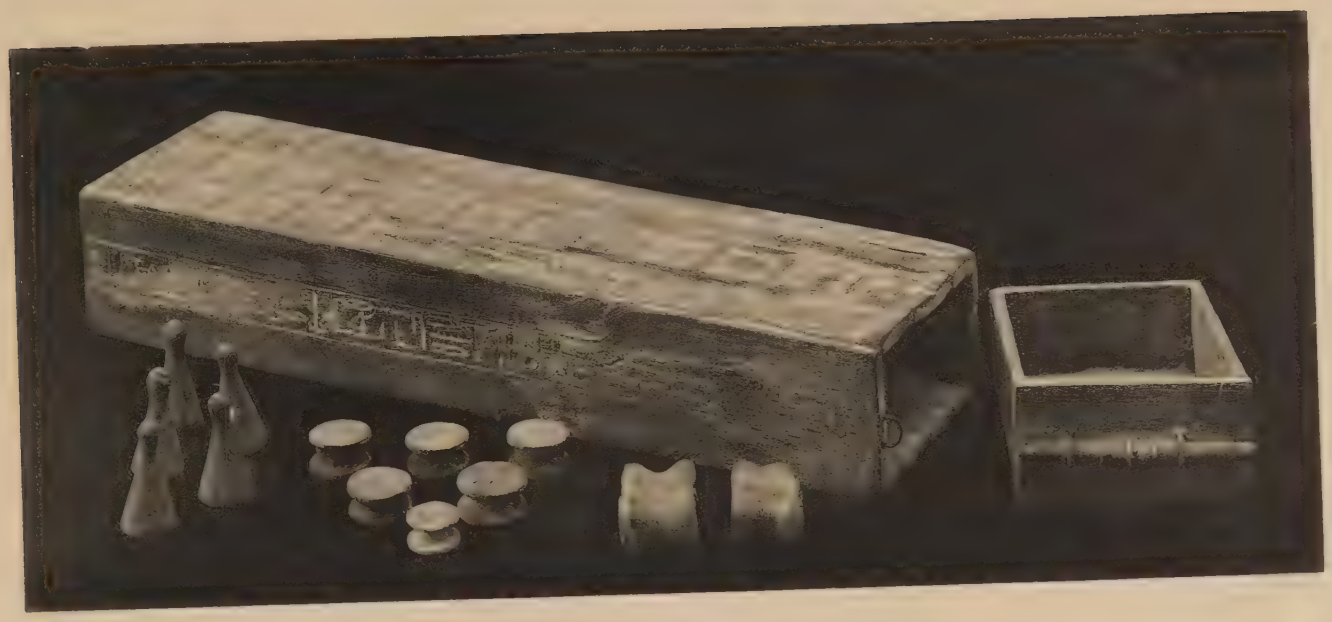

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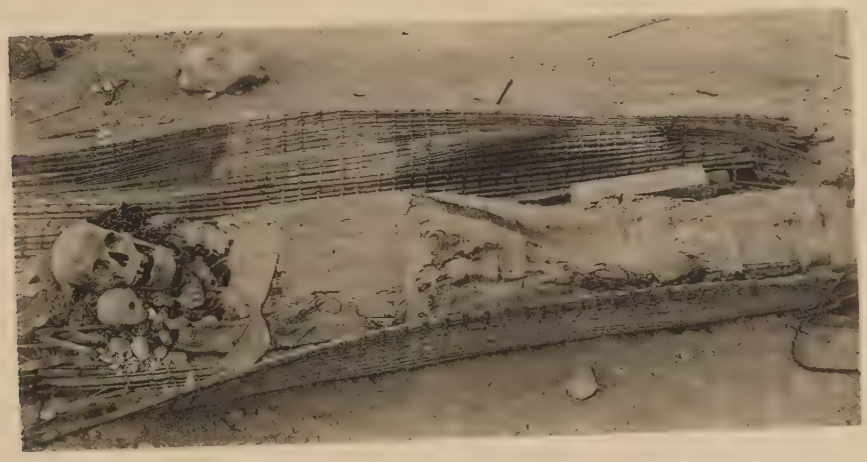

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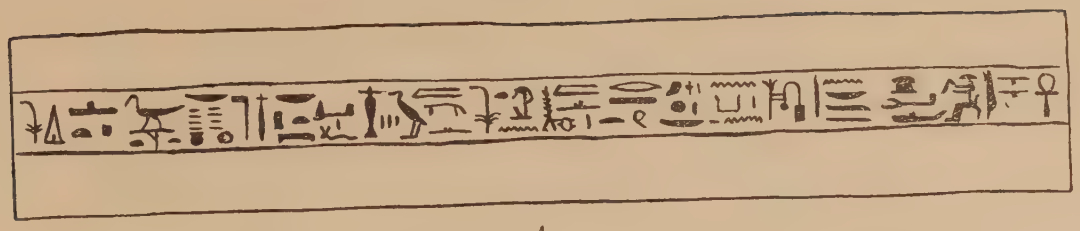

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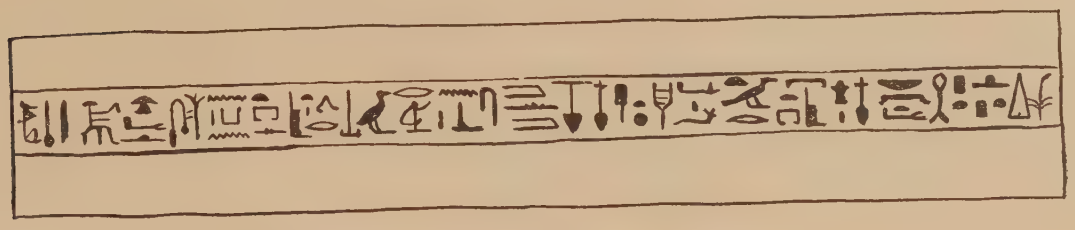

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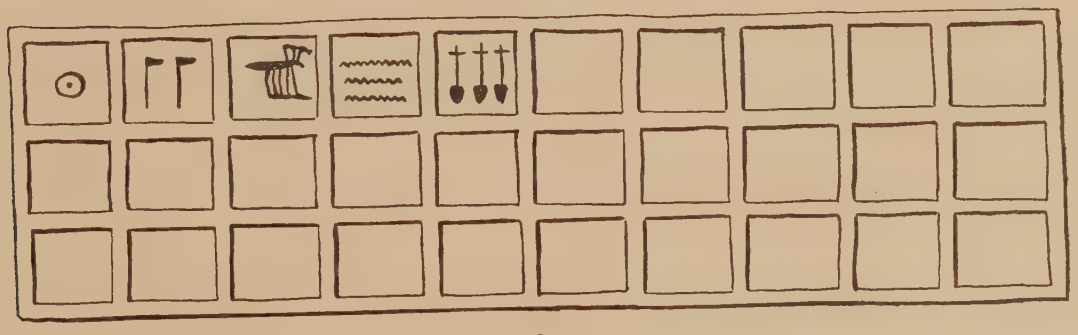

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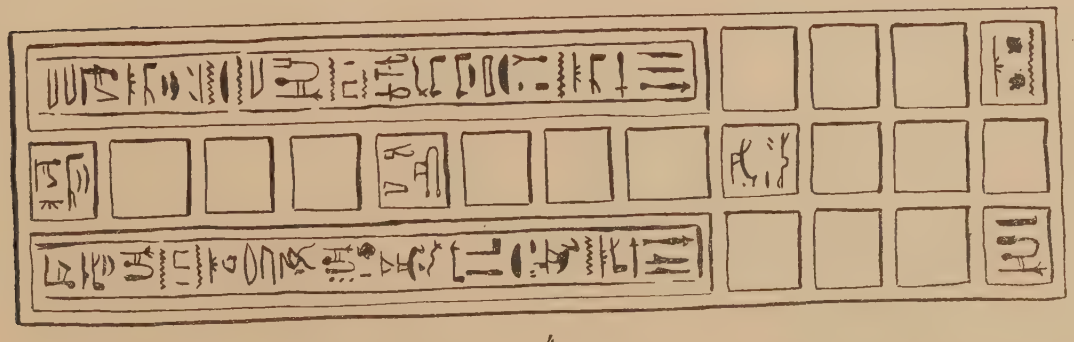

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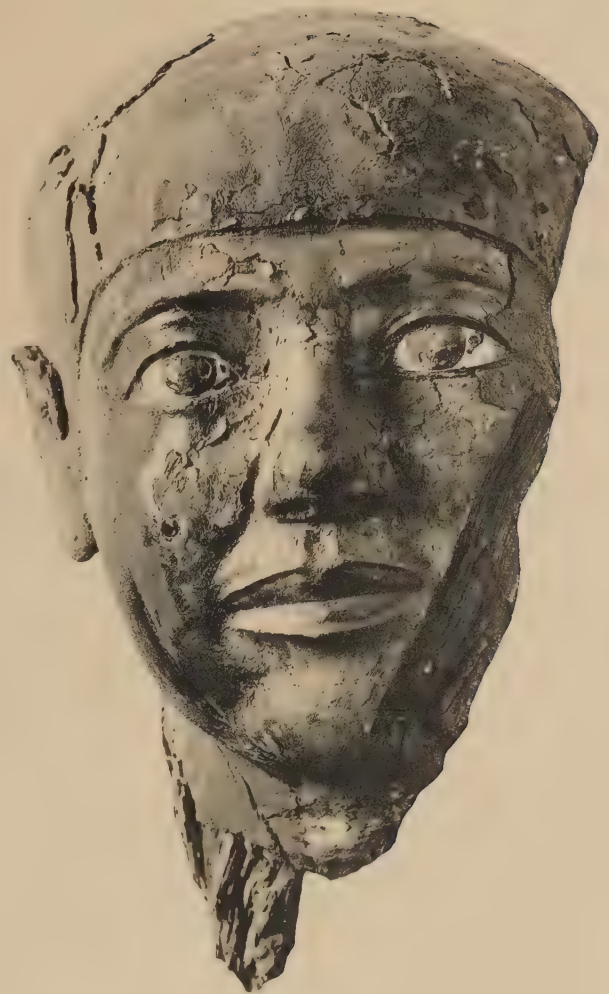

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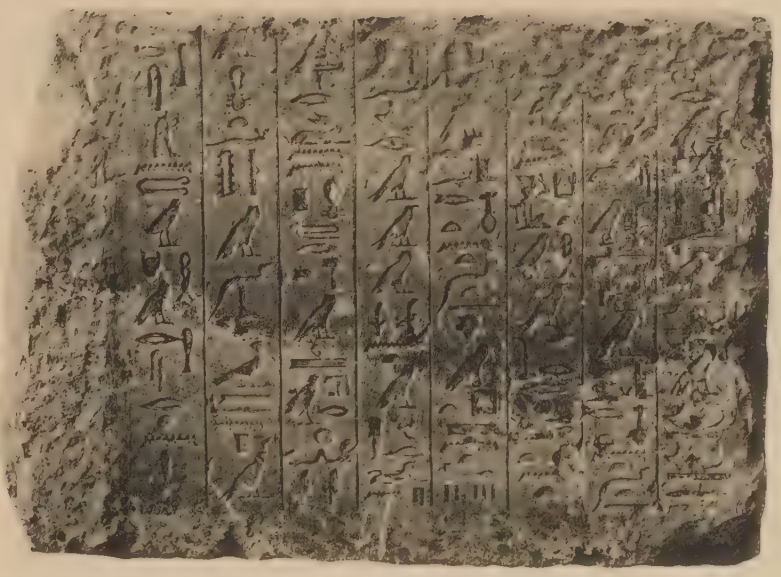

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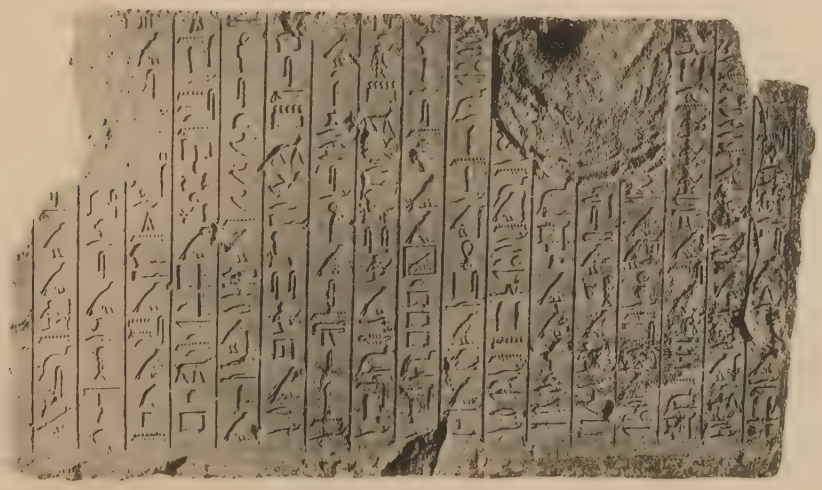

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Phototypie Berthaud, Paris

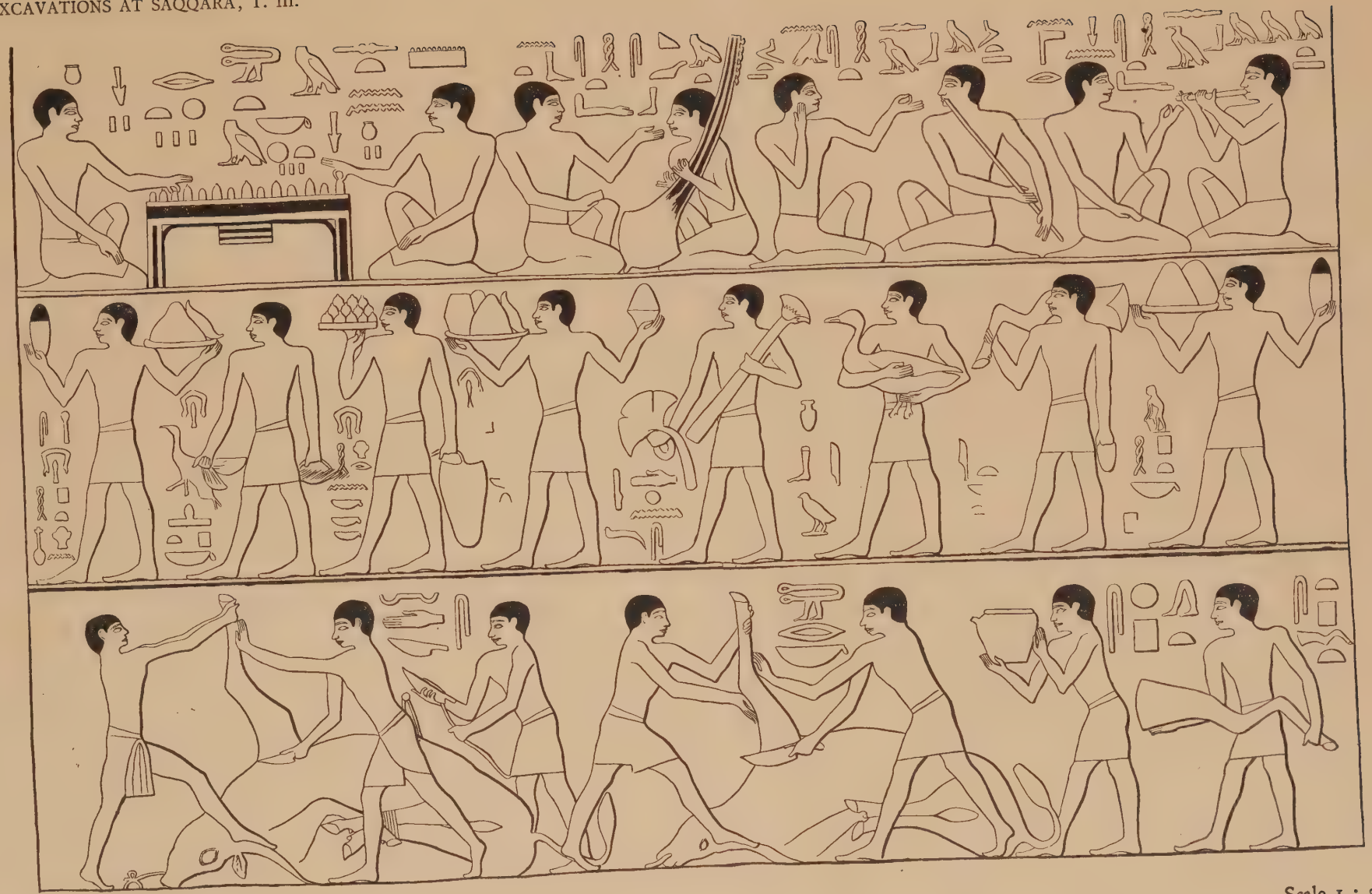
1

Scale 1 : 10

2

Scale 1 : 10

EXCAVATIONS AT SAQQARA, T. III.



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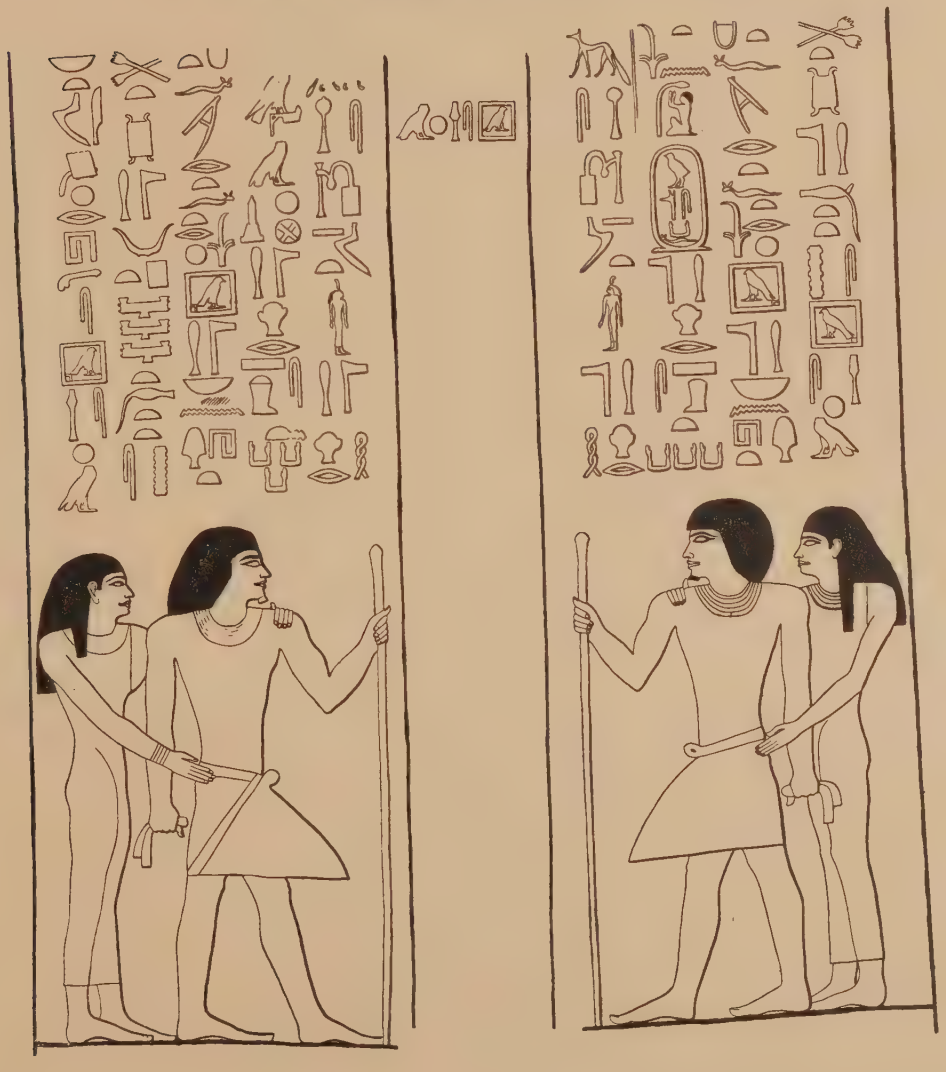

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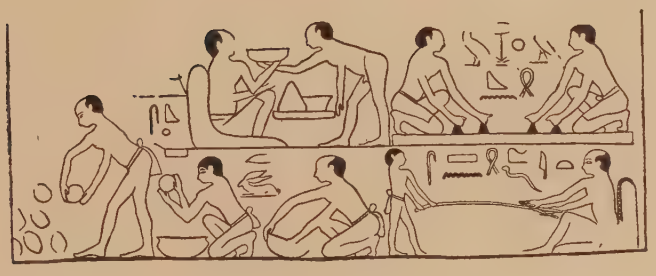

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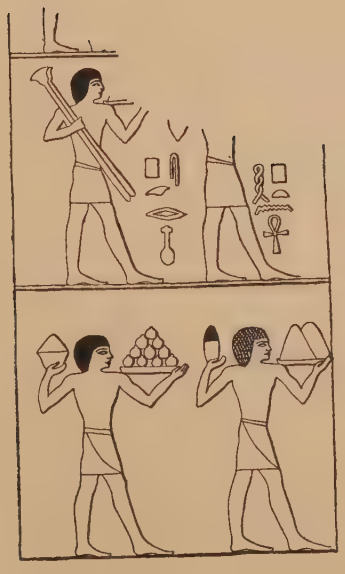

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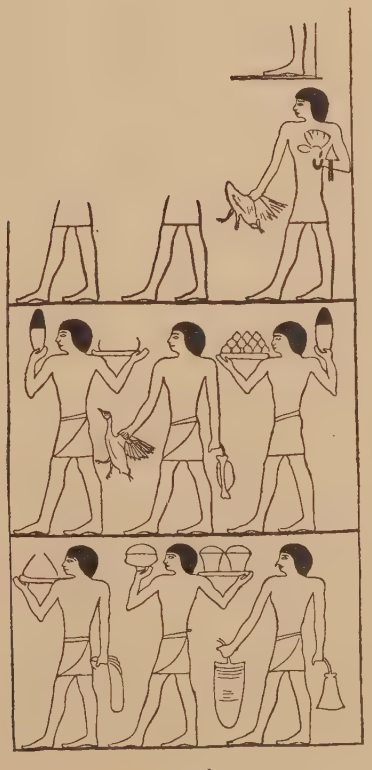

4

PUBLICATIONS

DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE.

Guide du Visiteur au Musée du Caire, par G. Maspero, in-8°, Caire, 1902 (Épuisé); la nouvelle édition est en préparation. — Le même traduit en anglais et illustré, 4e édit., in-8°, Caire, 1908. — Prix : P. T. 20 (4 sh.). — Le même traduit en arabe, in-8°, Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 13.

Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. — Ouvrage publié sous les auspices de S. A. Abbas II Hilmi, Khédive d'Égypte :

Tome I. — *De la frontière de Nubie à Kom-Ombos*, par J. de Morgan, U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, G. Jéquier, A. Barsanti. — In-4°, Vienne, 1894. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 francs).

Tome II. — *Kom-Ombos*, 1re partie, mêmes auteurs. — In-4°, Vienne, 1895. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 francs).

Tome III. — *Kom-Ombos*, 2e partie, mêmes auteurs. — 1re livraison. — In-4°, Vienne, 1902. — Prix : P.T. 100 (26 francs). — 2e livraison. — In-4°, Vienne, 1905. — Prix : 771 mill. (20 francs). — La troisième livraison est sous presse.

Carte de la nécropole memphite : Dahchour, Sakkarah, Abousir, par J. de Morgan. — In-4°, 12 planches coloriées. — Caire, 1897. — Prix : 771 mill. (20 francs).

Fouilles à Dahchour (mars-juin 1894), par J. de Morgan, avec la collaboration de MM. Berthelot, G. Legrain, G. Jéquier, V. Loret et Dr Fouquet. — In-4°, Vienne, 1895. — Prix : P. T. 195 (50 fr. 50).

Fouilles à Dahchour (1894-1895), par les mêmes. — In-4°, Vienne, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 francs).

Notice sur le temple de Louqsor, par G. Daressy. — In-8°, Caire, 1893. — Prix : P. T. 8 (2 francs).

Notice sur le temple de Médinet-Habou, par G. Daressy. — In-8°, Caire, 1897. — Prix : P.T. 12 (3 francs).

Fragments d'un manuscrit de Ménandre, découverts et publiés par G. Lefebvre, in-4°, Caire, 1907 (Épuisé).

Recueil des Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte, par G. Lefebvre. — In-4°, Caire, 1907. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 francs).

Livre des Perles enfouies et du Mystère précieux, par Ahmed bey Kamal. — 2 vol. in-4°, Caire, 1907. — Prix : les deux, P.T. 155 (40 francs). Pris séparément : texte arabe, P.T. 80 (20 fr. 75); traduction française, P.T. 85 (22 francs).

Annales du Service des Antiquités, tomes I à IX. — In-8°, Caire, 1900-1908. — Le dixième volume est sous presse.

(*Les Annales formeront chaque année un volume de 18 à 22 feuilles, avec planches. Chaque volume sera vendu au prix de* P. T. 97 1/2 [25 fr. 25].)

Le Musée égyptien. — Tome I. — In-4° avec 46 planches, Caire, 1890-1900. — Prix : 32 fr. 50.

Tome II, 1er fasc. — In-4° avec 17 planches, Caire, 1904. — Prix : 22 francs. — Second fascicule. — In-4° avec 25 planches, Caire, 1906. — Prix : 26 francs. — Troisième fascicule. — In-4° avec 15 planches, Caire, 1907. — Prix : 18 francs.

Tome III, 1er fasc. — In-4° avec 23 planches, Caire, 1909. — Prix : 25 francs.

Plan des nécropoles thébaines, par É. Baraize. — 1re livraison, feuilles 9, 20, 21, 31 et 32. — In-f°, Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 28 (7 francs). — 2e livraison, feuilles 42, 53, 61. — In-f°, Caire, 1907. — Prix : P. T. 20 (5 francs). — La 4e livraison est sous presse.

Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906), par J. E. Quibell. — In-4° avec planches, Caire, 1907. — Prix : P. T. 174 (45 francs). — (1906-1907). — In-4° avec planches en couleurs, Caire, 1908. — Prix : P. T. 350 (90 fr. 75). — (1907-1908). — In-4° avec planches en couleurs, Caire, 1909. — Prix : P. T. 350 (90 fr. 75).

Les Temples immergés de la Nubie :

In-4° avec planches. — Tome I, 1re livraison, *Rapports*, par G. Maspero et A. Barsanti, Caire, 1909. — Prix : P. T. 154 (40 francs). — 2e livraison, Caire, 1909. — Prix : P. T. 148 (38 francs).

Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire (XVIIe-XVIIIe dynasties), par G. Legrain, in-8°, Genève, 1908. — Prix : P. T. 77 1/4 (20 francs).

Catalogue général du Musée du Caire (in-4° avec planches et figures dans le texte) :

Ostraca, par G. Daressy, Caire, 1901. — Prix : P. T. 220 (57 francs).

Die Metallgefässe, par Fr. de Bissing, Vienne, 1901. — Prix : P.T. 80 (20 fr. 75).

Die Fayencegefässe, par Fr. de Bissing, Vienne, 1902. — Prix : P.T. 97 1/2 (25 fr. 25).

Die Steingefässe, par Fr. de Bissing, Vienne, 1904. — Prix : P.T. 100 (26 francs). — *Einleitung und Indices*, Vienne, 1907. — Prix : P. T. 38,5 (10 francs).

Fouilles de la vallée des rois, par G. Daressy. — 1re partie : *Tombes de Maherpra, Aménophis II*, Caire, 1901. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 francs). — 2e partie : *Tombes d'Aménophis II et de Thoutmôsis III*, Caire, 1902. — Prix : 771 mill. (20 francs).

PUBLICATIONS

DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE (*Suite*).

Catalogue général du Musée du Caire (in-4° avec planches et figures dans le texte) [suite] :

Coptic Monuments, par W. E. Crum, Caire, 1901. — Prix : P.T. 270 (70 francs).

Grab- und Denkstein des mittleren Reichs, par Lange-Schäfer. — 1re partie : *Text zu Nos 20001-20399*, Berlin, 1902. — Prix : P.T. 220 (57 francs). — 2e partie : *Text zu Nos 20400-20780*, Berlin, 1908. — Prix : P. T. 300 (78 francs). — 4e partie : *Tafeln*, Berlin, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 300 (78 francs).

Textes et dessins magiques, par G. Daressy, Caire, 1902. — Prix : P.T. 70 (18 fr. 15).

Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire, par P. Lacau. — Tome I, 1er fascicule, Caire, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 212 (55 francs). — 2e fascicule, Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 140 (36 fr. 25). — Tome II, 1er fascicule, Caire, 1905. — Prix : 771 mill. (20 francs). — 2e fascicule, Caire, 1907. — Prix : P.T. 100 (26 francs).

Stèles du nouvel empire, par P. Lacau. — Tome I, 1er fascicule, Caire, 1909. — Prix : P.T. 300 (77 fr. 77).

Greek Papyri, par Grenfell et Hunt, Oxford, 1903. — Prix : P.T. 70 (18 fr. 15).

Koptische Kunst, par Strzygowski, Vienne, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 300 (78 francs).

Greek Moulds, par C. C. Edgar, Caire, 1902. — Prix : P. T. 95 (24 fr. 60).

Greek Sculpture, par C. C. Edgar, Caire, 1903. — Prix : P. T. 155 (40 fr. 20).

Greek Bronzes, par C. C. Edgar, Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 100 (26 francs).

Graeco-Egyptian Glass, par C. C. Edgar, Caire, 1905. — Prix : P. T. 80 (20 fr. 75).

Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, par C. C. Edgar, Caire, 1905. — Prix : P.T. 231,4 (60 francs).

Sculptors' studies and unfinished Works, par C. C. Edgar, Caire, 1906. — Prix : P. T. 174 (45 francs).

Die demotischen Denkmæler, par W. Spiegelberg. — 1re partie : *Die demotischen Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 120 (31 fr. 10). — 2e partie : *Die demotischen Papyrus*, Strasbourg, 1908. — Prix : P.T. 154 (40 francs). — Tome II (planches), Strasbourg, 1906. — Prix : P.T. 308 (80 francs).

The tomb of Thutmósis IV, par Carter-Newberry, Londres, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 francs).

Greek Inscriptions, par J. G. Milne, Londres, 1905. — Prix : P. T. 192 (50 francs).

Stèles hiéroglyphiques d'époque ptolémaïque et romaine, par Ahmed bey Kamal. — Tome I, texte, Caire, 1905. — Prix : P. T. 251 (65 francs). — Tome II, planches, Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 212 (55 francs).

Tables d'offrandes, par Ahmed bey Kamal. — Tome I, texte, Caire, 1909. — Prix : P.T. 200 (52 francs). — Tome II, planches, Caire, 1906. — Prix : P. T. 154 (40 francs).

Archaïc objects, par J. E. Quibell. — Tome I, texte, Caire, 1905. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 francs). — Tome II (planches), Caire, 1904. — Prix : P. T. 139 (36 francs).

Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu, par J. E. Quibell, Caire, 1908. — Prix : P. T. 212 (55 francs).

La Faune momifiée de l'antique Égypte, par Gaillard et Daressy, Caire, 1905. — Prix : P.T. 154 (40 francs).

Statues de Divinités, par G. Daressy. — Tome I, texte, Caire, 1906. — Prix : P. T. 250 (65 francs). — Tome II, planches, Caire, 1905. — Prix : P.T. 212 (55 francs).

Cercueils des cachettes royales, par G. Daressy, Caire, 1909. — Prix : P. T. 328 (85 francs).

Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers (2e partie), par G. Legrain. — Tome I, Caire, 1906. — Prix : P. T. 270 (70 francs). — Tome II, Caire, 1909. — Prix : P. T. 200 (52 francs).

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